

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

SHEPPARD VERSUS BENNETT.

THE case of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of Frome, which is now being argued in appeal before the Privy Council, involves issues which in any country governed by logic, and inhabited by a strictly law-abiding people, would compel a serious ecclesiastical revolution. But since England is not governed by logic, and its clergy have almost established a prescriptive right not to obey the law, we hesitate to predict any immediate disturbance, be the decision of the Privy Council what it may.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that on the 23rd July last, the Dean of Arches pronounced in favour of the orthodoxy of Mr. Bennett, prosecuted by the Church Association of the Evangelical party for opinions expressed in an essay "On the Church and the World," and in his "Plea for Toleration in the Church of England." It was charged against him that he held heretical views concerning the presence of Our Saviour in the Sacrament, as well as concerning the adoration of consecrated elements. The Dean of Arches expressed his opinion that the formularies of the Church "did set forth the doctrine of a real spiritual presence in the Eucharist," and "that there was a change in the holy elements after consecration, and that they then conveyed, in a Divine, ineffable way, the body and blood of Christ, seemed necessary inferences from the language of the Communion Service." Mr. Bennett had spoken in the second edition of his pamphlet on toleration of "the real presence of Our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the altars of our churches," a presence which he held to be "actual and objective." This expression, and the doctrine which it involved, the Dean of Arches allowed to be legal. In respect to adoration Mr. Bennett had used the words, "who myself adore and teach the people to adore Christ present in the elements under the form of bread and wine." This also the Dean allowed to be in accordance with the formularies of the Church. He said in conclusion—

I say that the objective, actual and real presence, or the spiritual real presence—a presence external to the act of the communicant—appears to me to be the doctrine which the formularies of our Church, duly considered and construed so as to be harmonious, intended to maintain. But I do not lay down this as a position of law, nor do I say that what is called the

Reception doctrine is inadmissible: nor do I pronounce on any other teaching with respect to the mode of presence. I mean by it to pronounce only that to describe the mode of presence as objective, real, actual, and spiritual, is certainly not contrary to the law.

This is the case which has now come up for final hearing during the present week before the Judicial Committee. It is not within our province to anticipate the judgment of the court; but it is permissible to say that the decision ought to carry with it serious consequences to all parties within the Establishment, if it be a decision *bona fide* and on the merits, and not simply an elaborate evasion or immoral compromise. Suppose that the judgment of the court below is confirmed, and that the legal position of those who teach the doctrine of "a change in the elements," and the adoration of Christ's objective presence in the elements, is assured—what ought to be the conclusion of the Evangelical and of the Broad Church parties, when they find themselves required not only to submit to fellowship with men who teach that which they think anti-scriptural and exceedingly pernicious, but to submit also to the inferior position of parties tolerated only by the mercy of the State? For, if the decision be in favour of Mr. Bennett, we conceive that it will be absolute. His doctrine is either the true doctrine of the Church of England or not. The judgment of the court below has narrowed the question to this issue. If Mr. Bennett's doctrine be the teaching of the Church of England, then the doctrine of the Evangelical party is not the doctrine of the Church of England, but a heresy which may perhaps be pursued at law, or at best can only hope for a contemptuous toleration. There will in this case be great rejoicings among the Romanising party in the Universities, in Convocation, and in the parishes. They will hold their heads higher than ever, and try to make the lives of the Evangelicals bitter with hard bondage in the arrogance of their success. And what will be the position of the Evangelicals? After so many years of testimony against superstition and priestcraft in England, the very strength and centre of sacerdotal authority, the doctrine of the Real Presence, is declared to be the legal and authentic doctrine of the National Church. How will it be possible for them to continue in ecclesiastical union with men who will thenceforth hasten onward to every Roman development?

But take the other alternative, which is considered so much more probable at every Evangelical fireside. Conceive that the Judicial Committee, resolving to forget what the words of consecration were most probably designed to convey in an age when transubstantiation had been taught for centuries, and when the very same words, used by the Lutherans, were undeniably intended to teach consubstantiation; suppose that the Judicial Committee, resolving to apply those canons of verbal interpretation which are peculiar to itself in Europe, as a court of equity, should declare, for historical and political reasons, that when the Prayer-book speaks of "the body and blood of Christ being verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," it means that they are not "verily and indeed" taken and received, and thus reverses the judgment of the Dean of Arches declaring Mr. Bennett's doctrine illegal and heterodox—what will be the position of the Ritualists? They will then have obtained

a formal and legal acknowledgment from the Church of England that she has not the "very body of Christ to give to the faithful" in the Communion; and so far as the law is concerned, their last hope of proving the Anglican Church to be a branch of the Church Catholic will be exploded. The Evangelical party will, in that case, celebrate the triumph; for the very keystone of the arch of sacerdotalism will have been knocked away, and the teaching of Mr. Bennett and his associates will be an offence indictable at law. Here will occur an opportunity for testing the quality of the conscience of the Ritualists. Will they secede from a Church which by this confession of its own law courts is declared to be a "Protestant sect"? Yes, will they follow Mr. Bennett into exile? Rather, say we, under any decision will any party secede? There are those who think that no such self-denying ordinance is to be looked for either from the Evangelicals or their opponents. If defeated in this last resort, the position taken by the Ritualists may be this—"The court has decided against us, but the court is wrong. In the one case the Court of Arches, in the other the Judicial Committee, sanctions an interpretation. We think little of the authority of either. Meantime, it is the general intention of the State that wide diversities should be allowed within the Church, and it is of more importance that the Establishment should be preserved by our continuance within the fold, than that verbal accuracy should be maintained at the expense of secession. The Purchas judgment is inoperative. Let this judgment also be laid on the shelf."

Thus, notwithstanding the supposed propensity towards disestablishment of some Ritualists, the considerations which availed, to reconcile High Churchmen to the Gorham decision, and both Evangelical and High Churchmen to the decisions which gave a legal status to the Broad Church party, may avail to support a fresh measure of mutual toleration. Even should Mr. Bennett be condemned and deprived, he is but a single person, and the decision against him would involve no other clergyman. If the Privy Council should decide in his favour, that would assure the position of all who agree with him, without requiring the expulsion of those who differ. The law which governs the Church of England is unique in its elasticity, and the clerical conscience trained under its influence experience has proved to be equally elastic.

It is not, we fully believe, the present intention of any party in the Church to abandon their mother to the tender mercies of their brethren. The secession of any one of the three great parties would be the signal for a remorseless assault upon the residuary Establishment, and that, like the invasion of England in the policy of French statesmen, is the last card which the clergy will play. Meantime the struggle between the various sections offers an edifying comment on the alleged "religious and moral" influence which is exercised on the State by the Church. Perhaps Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Hardy, who have said so much on this wholesome influence, will at some convenient season explain to the country the high spiritual advantages of a system which is based on mutual connivance at equivocation, and is supported on all sides by a common contempt for the decisions of the supreme tribunals of the realm.

BANQUET TO MR. EDWARD MIALI, M.P., IN NEWCASTLE.

On Thursday night, the Nonconformists and advanced Liberals of the North of England entertained Mr. Miall at a banquet given in the Town Hall, Newcastle. "Some months ago," says the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, to which we are mainly indebted for the following excellent report, "the friends of religious equality felt that the crisis demanded a special recognition of Mr. Miall's work. The leader of a great movement cannot successfully prosecute the task unless assured of the earnest succour of the friends of that movement. To manifest that earnestness was the object of the banquet last night, and the success which attended it realised the highest anticipations. It was expected that between three and four hundred friends would have dined together with the member for Bradford, but between four and five hundred presented themselves. The hall was tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreens, and draped with flags, the whole of the general arrangements being very complete." While the company was assembling, the band under the leadership of Mr. J. H. Amers rendered a felicitous selection of patriotic and national airs with much taste and spirit. Many ladies were present at the banquet, and subsequently the public were admitted to the galleries, which were soon filled with ladies and gentlemen.

The chair was taken, in the absence from indisposition of Mr. Ald. Cowen, M.P., by Mr. Joseph Cowen, jun., who was supported on the right by the guest of the evening, Edward Miall, Esq., M.P.; Alfred Illingworth, Esq., M.P.; J. Carvell Williams, Esq., secretary to the Liberation Society, London; Dr. Rutherford; Mr. W. M. Henzell; and on the left by the Rev. H. T. Robjohns; Rev. W. Shillito, Sunderland; Ald. Green, North Shields; Mr. T. Forth, North Shields; Mr. E. S. Hills, and Mr. Samuel Tomkins. There were gentlemen present from all the surrounding towns and districts, including Gateshead, Sunderland, Shields, Durham, Middlesbrough, Hartlepool, Darlington, Monkwearmouth, Blaydon, &c.

The cloth having been cleared, the Chairman in eulogistic terms proposed "The Queen." He said there were differences of opinion among them. Good men were in favour of monarchy, and good men were in favour of a republic; but, whatever differences of opinion might exist on that abstract question, this he was certain of, that there was a unanimous feeling of respect for that distinguished lady who swayed the sceptre of this realm. (Cheers.) She had always been willing to accede to any wish made by the people through their legal and legitimate representatives. When they contrasted her conduct in such matters with that of some previous monarchs—when they recollected the willingness with which she gave her assent to the great measure for disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church, and the last great Act passed to secure the reorganisation of the army, and compared her behaviour with that of the last king, who harassed the operations of Lord Grey's Government by hesitating to give his assent to even the mild Reform Bill of 1832—he thought they would see good reason for honouring the toast. ("Hear, hear," and applause.)

Mr. TOMKINS, one of the honorary secretaries to the Banquet Committee, then read some of the following letters from M.P.'s, who had voted for Mr. Miall's recent disestablishment motion, it being agreed that the others should be taken as read:—

Manchester, November 21.
Dear Sir,—I am sorry that I am unable to be present at your banquet. Permit me to say that I am glad you are taking steps to strengthen Mr. Miall's hands in the House of Commons, and I hope your example will be followed by other towns.
Yours truly,
S. Tomkins, Esq. JACOB BRIGHT.

Hotel de Bellevue, Bruxelles, Nov. 16, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I have only just received your invitation of the date of November 8 to the banquet to Mr. Miall, to be held on the 23rd, but on that very day I have promised to take part in a public meeting in London on the licensing question.

The pressing question of the day is the question of Irish university education. The consistency of the policy of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues on this subject during the last six years—Mr. Fortescue's speech at Radstock in favour of a denominational system of education in Ireland being the last official utterance on the subject—give too much ground to fear that the Government have purchased the support of the Ultramontane party at elections at a heavy price. Mr. Fawcett is going to bring on his bill for opening Trinity College, Dublin, as he informs me, at the very earliest moment next session, and the banquet of the 23rd may be of some use in organising support against the proposition of the Government in the northern constituencies. Get the Government, or force them, to accept the maintenance of the undenominational system in Ireland, and you will not, I think, find them so difficult to deal with as regards England. The English Education Bill will be the strong point urged by the Catholic vote in the

House of Commons in favour of a change in the Irish educational system; it will be the excuse for making the change if Government are too deeply pledged to their Ultramontane allies to give up their present policy.

They look to the Catholic vote—probably fifty strong in numbers—and therefore able, if withdrawn, to put an end to their majority. To say nothing of elementary principles—such as one expects to find in the leaders of the Liberal party—I believe that a bold course on this subject would have gained them enough votes in the North of Ireland at the next election to give us a working majority, and would not have alienated from them the confidence, and perhaps support, of the Liberals.

Believe me, yours truly,
Rev. H. T. Robjohns. W. MORRISON.

Auchenames House, West Kilbride, N.B.,
November 20, 1871.

My Dear Cowen,—As I observe you are to preside at the banquet to be given to Mr. Miall in Newcastle, on the 23rd inst., may I beg that you will express to the committee my best thanks for the invitation with which they have honoured me, and my great regret that engagements here will prevent my being present on that interesting occasion to join in so well-deserved a testimony of public esteem and regard to your distinguished guest?—Believe me, yours very truly,

E. H. J. CRAWFORD.
Alderman Cowen, M.P., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Clapham Park, near Bedford, Nov. 18, 1871.
Dear Alderman Cowen,—I regret that I cannot attend the banquet to my friend Mr. Miall, for I have arranged to be in Birmingham on the same day. Mr. Miall deserves well of every friend of religious equality, the complete establishment of which principle ought to be the polestar of every true Liberal.

I am, yours very truly,
Alderman Cowen, M.P. JAMES HOWARD.

Dundee, 12th November, 1871.
My Dear Mr. Cowen,—I regret that previous engagements will prevent me from accepting your invitation to dine with Mr. Miall at Newcastle on the 23rd inst. I feel your invitation a high honour, and had circumstances permitted, I should gladly have availed myself of it. I have long very highly esteemed your distinguished guest for his ability, his manly honesty, and the earnest unity of his nature and purpose. He has fought one of the many great battles of the time with a power and perseverance and disinterestedness which are as rare as they are admirable, and will, I hope, ere he die, have his exceeding great reward in seeing the cause to which he has devoted his life at or over the verge of victory. There are other and mightier questions beginning to peer above the horizon, and to influence the thinking minds of Britain; but that these may be fairly pled and satisfactorily settled there must be a free field of religious equality for the contest, and to furnish that has been the one noble object of all Mr. Miall's exertions.

I am, dear Mr. C., yours very truly,
Joseph Cowen, jun., Esq. GEORGE GILFILLAN.

Sunderland, November 15, 1871.
My Dear Sir,—I regret to say that under medical advice I am constrained to leave home for a midland county to-morrow morning. Unfortunately for me, this deprives me of the pleasure of meeting with those who would do honour to my friend Mr. Miall on the 23rd inst. I should have liked, too, to have raised my voice on that interesting and important occasion in favour of religious freedom and equality. Until that principle is fully conceded, and State and Church connections cease, there never can be peace in England.

I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,
The Rev. H. T. Robjohns, B.A. JOHN CANDLISH.

Gilmonby Hall, Darlington, November 22, 1871.
My dear Cowen,—I see that you are to preside at a dinner to be given to Mr. Miall at Newcastle. With every respect both to Mr. Miall and those who entertain him, I do not sufficiently concur with him and them to enable me to be present at the banquet.
Yours very truly,
T. E. HEADLAM.

Brayton, Carlisle, October 28, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to your committee for their invitation to Mr. Miall's banquet. Engagements during the week fixed for the banquet prevent my having the pleasure of accepting the invitation. Hoping that you may have a most successful demonstration,
I am, yours truly,
W. LAWSON.

Melcombe, Stratford-on-Avon, October 28, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I regret much that engagements of a public nature, and which therefore cannot be postponed or altered, will prevent my being present to do honour to a public man who has contrived to unite an uncompromising lifelong devotion to a great cause with fairness of thought and moderation of statement. The present appears to be a time well chosen for paying a tribute of respect to Mr. Miall. Our party, and the country at large, are beginning to reap the fruit sown by the neglect during the session of 1870 of those principles to which Mr. Miall was true under the greatest of all temptations—the sentiment of just gratitude towards a Government which had, in its bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, afforded so signal a triumph to the opinions which he has so persistently and so ably advocated.

I remain, yours very faithfully,
S. Tomkins, Esq. G. O. TREVELYAN.

Hutton Hall, Guisborough, November 17, 1871.
Gentlemen,—I have to thank you for your kind invitation, received yesterday, to the banquet to be given to Mr. Miall at Newcastle on the 23rd inst.

Engagements previously made prevent me accepting your invitation. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity of expressing, through you, my personal regard for Mr. Miall, and my continued adhesion to those great principles of religious equality of which he has been for so long the distinguished and successful exponent.

Born and brought up a Nonconformist, the principles in which I was educated have long since been mine by conviction. The religious body of which I have been

all my life a member has for upwards of two hundred years proclaimed against the abuses inherent in the connection by law of Church and State, and they have always protested against that violation of the rights of individual conscience involved in any attempt to set up under the protection of the State a legal and privileged standard of religious opinion.

I have therefore rejoiced to see the world at large more convinced of the truth that State religious establishments, involving as they do injustices, are inimical alike to the harmony and prosperity of a State and to the true religious growth of a people.

During the comparatively short period that I have been honoured by a seat in the House of Commons, I have heartily supported all those measures by which this country has advanced by quickly succeeding strides towards that religious equality which I believe a rapidly increasing number of people earnestly desire.

The abolition of Church-rates, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the University Tests Act, and other measures, are all founded on the doctrine of perfect religious equality, under which, when it is carried out to its legitimate conclusion, a State-Church, as such, can have no existence.

Sharing, therefore, with Mr. Miall the earnest conviction that it will be to the advantage of the State and religion that a State religious establishment should cease to exist, it will be a matter of regret to me if I am unable to accord an active, rather than a negative, support to the next step he may take in the House of Commons.

We desire to attain the disestablishment of the State Church, speedily, justly, and in a manner which will be a final settlement of the question. We cannot conceal from ourselves that this is not the view or aim of a large number of the Liberal members of the House of Commons. We admit the importance of keeping a Liberal Administration in power. We have therefore to watch that, whilst we endeavour to carry as speedily as possible that which we believe is called for both by reason and by right, we do not so divide the Liberal party, as still further to retard that which has already been in our opinion too long delayed.

The complimentary banquet at Newcastle will call for public attention to this—the great question of the day. The signs of the times all point in one direction, and I trust your honoured guest will live to see the great object of his lifework carried as a national measure, and in such a manner as will conduce alike to the health of the Christian Church and the prosperity of the State.

Believe me to be, yours faithfully,
JOSEPH W. PEASE.
Messrs. Robjohns, McKendrick, and Tomkins.

Randolph Hotel, Oxford, November 15.
My Dear Sir,—I regret much that engagements will prevent my accepting your kind invitation.

Mr. Miall will have my aid and support in his endeavours to dissolve the union of the Church and State, whenever it is in my power to give them, and I regret not to have the pleasure of meeting him in Newcastle and of making acquaintance with a town of such active political thought on the 23rd. Faithfully,
Rev. H. T. Robjohns. AUBERON HERBERT.

Westbury House, Petersfield, Hants, November 15, 1871.
Dear Sir,—In reply to your favour of the 8th, received this morning, I regret that I have an engagement in this neighbourhood on the 22nd, which would prevent my being present at the banquet to Mr. Miall on the following day.

It will be a great pleasure to all friends of religious equality to hear of the important town of Newcastle doing honour to one who so richly deserves it. I hope your banquet may, in all respects, be a success.

Very truly yours,
J. D. LEWIS.

Conyngnam-road, Victoria Park, Manchester,
November 18, 1871.

My Dear Sir,—My health will not allow me to accept your invitation to the Miall banquet on the 23rd inst. He has well earned the honour you intend to confer on him, and I hope you will have a good assembly.

I remain, yours truly,
GEO. HADFIELD.
To the Rev. H. T. Robjohns, B.A., Honorary Secretary, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

164, Clapham-road, London, Nov. 1, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I am very sorry I am not able to accept the invitation with which you have honoured me to be present at the banquet to be given to my friend Mr. Miall, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 23rd.

Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to join in this mark of respect to Mr. Miall had it been in my power; but, unfortunately, I am already involved in engagements which oblige me to forego that pleasure.

Yours truly,
HENRY RICHARD.

Leeds, Nov. 11, 1871.
Gentlemen,—I have your circular inviting me to a banquet to be given in your town to Mr. Miall, M.P., on the 23rd of this month. On that day I expect to preside at a lecture or address by Sir C. Dilke, in the Town Hall, Leeds.

Had I been disengaged, I should have felt very strongly inclined to be with you, to assist in strengthening the hands of Mr. Miall, and doing honour to the able leader of the Nonconformists in the House of Commons.

I am, gentlemen, yours truly,
R. M. CARTER.
The Hon. Sec. Banquet Committee.

Port Madoe, November 13, 1871.
Sir,—I regret extremely that it will not be in my power to be present at the banquet to Mr. Miall.

I beg to express the opinion that if Mr. Miall should sustain in the coming session the independent position which he took on the Education Bill and on other occasions, and shall thus break up the present sham Liberal Government, he will bring to the cause with which he is so honourably and specially identified the credit of rendering to the Liberal party and to the country an inestimable service.

I am, dear Sir, your faithful servant,
The Rev. H. T. Robjohns. G. H. WHALLEY.

76, Sloane-street, S.W., November 10, 1871.
My Dear Sir,—I fear that my arrangements are such that it will be impossible for me to accept your invitation to attend at the banquet to Mr. Miall. This fact I regret the more as my admiration for that gentleman's public character is such that I should very much have liked to have taken part in the ceremony.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,
CHARLES W. DILKE.

The Reform Club, November 11, 1871.
Dear Sirs,—I am much honoured by the invitation which your committee have given me to be present at the banquet to my friend Mr. Miall, on the 23rd inst. It would have given me great pleasure to have been present, and to have joined in a mark of public respect to Mr. Miall in recognition of his distinguished services; but I regret that my engagements are such that I am quite unable to be in Newcastle at the time mentioned. Believe me to be, yours faithfully,

PETER RYLANDS.
Messrs. Robjohns, M'Kendrick, and Tomkins,
Hon. Secs., &c.

Newington House, Edinburgh, 11th Nov. 1871.
Gentlemen,—I have to thank you for your kind invitation to the banquet in honour given of Mr. Miall, M.P., and regret to say it is quite out of my power to attend, or I would have had much pleasure in doing so, for Mr. Miall well deserves all the honour you can bestow on him.

I am, gentlemen, yours truly,
To the Hon. Secretaries. D. M'LAREN.

47, Broad-street, Birmingham, Nov. 10, 1871.
Gentlemen,—I am in receipt of your circular inviting me to be present at a banquet to be given to Mr. Miall on the 23rd of November. I much regret that my engagements will prevent me leaving Birmingham at the time you mention.

And am, gentlemen, yours most obediently,
GEORGE DIXON.
Rev. H. T. Robjohns, B.A., Mechanics' Institute,
Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Gentlemen,—I regret it will not be in my power to go to Newcastle to assist at the banquet to Mr. Miall, of whose straightforward, consistent political career I have the fullest appreciation. I hope many of his best friends will gather round him and make the meeting a success.

Yours faithfully,
GEORGE ANDERSON.
Reform Club, London, Nov. 17th.

Aubrey House, Notting-hill, W., Nov. 11, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I am much obliged by the invitation of the committee, which, however, it will not be in my power to accept.

There are few indeed to whose exertions the country is so much indebted as to Mr. Miall for his lifelong advocacy of the principles of religious and political liberty.

Yours faithfully,
P. A. TAYLOR.

Carrow House, Norwich, Nov. 11, 1871.
Sir,—I beg to thank the committee for their invitation to the banquet to Mr. Miall. It would have given me great pleasure to attend, but previous arrangements will prevent my doing so.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
J. J. COLMAN.
Rev. H. T. Robjohns, B.A., Committee Rooms,
Mechanics' Institute, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The Avenue, Cambridge, Nov. 2, 1871.
Dear Sir,—I have delayed answering your kind letter of invitation to "The Miall Banquet" in the hope that I could accept it, but I am at last compelled to decline on account of numerous engagements.

I sincerely regret not being able to avail myself of so pleasurable a method of expressing my high esteem for a gentleman whom we all delight to honour according to our poor ability.

I am, yours sincerely,
NEVILLE GOODMAN.
S. Tomkins, Esq.,

Other letters expressing regret at not being able to attend were read from Mr. McArthur, M.P., Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Mr. Leatham, M.P., Mr. R. N. Phillips, M.P., Mr. Melly, M.P., Mr. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. Gourlay, M.P., Mr. E. Petter, M.P., Mr. H. F. Beaumont, M.P., Mr. Clay, M.P., Mr. Graham, M.P., and Mr. L. J. Parry, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN then rose, amidst loud cheering, to propose the toast of the evening—the health of Mr. Edward Miall. (Loud applause.) The observations that he had to make would be brief. They had met that night for the purpose of manifesting their admiration and regard for the distinguished leader of the Nonconformists of the British empire. (Loud cheers.) They had met to testify their sympathy with the cause that he loved so devotedly, that he advocated with so much ability, and served so well. (Loud cheers.) If there was any one man more than another who deserved to be considered a representative man in the House of Commons, it was their guest that evening, Mr. Miall. (Loud cheers.) He was the representative of the advocates of religious equality in that country, of the great body of Nonconformists, and deserved their best thanks for his lifelong services in the cause, for the disinterestedness with which he had performed his part, for the spirit in which he had engaged in the labour, and for the great ability he had displayed in putting their case fairly and temperately before those who did not sympathise with them. (Loud cheers.) The Nonconformists of the country had passed through what he might call three phases in their history. There was a time when they were persecuted. There was a time, he said, when men, for differing in opinion from the doctrines of the State Church, were sent into exile, were followed to the hills and shot at, were imprisoned, persecuted, and suffered long and resolutely for their conscientious convictions. At that time

a Nonconformist baby could not be born, a Nonconformist could not be married, or even buried without some offensive interference on the part of the priesthood of the Established Church. (Laughter.) Then came the time when the Nonconformists were tolerated and allowed to have opinions of their own—(laughter)—when it was not illegal to differ from the opinions of the Church of England. (Cheers.) The time of equality and toleration was not got immediately, but by degrees they found themselves advancing from one thing to another; they began to find that many things which at first were denied, were accorded them—that many of their members were admitted first to local offices, and then to national ones, and now Nonconformists enjoyed a comparatively free field in the State. (Hear, hear.) This position and tolerance had its advantages and disadvantages. It had increased their religious liberty and social equality, but it had also weakened and emasculated them. They had not now to strive and suffer for their rights as their forefathers did; and they took things a little easier and left them to go on in their natural course, a little more than it was right they should do. (Hear, hear.) There were two things that Englishmen were generally guilty of, and these were their deference to wealth and their deference to rank. It was once said of poor Tom Moore that he dearly loved a lord, and the people of England, were, in a great measure, much like him. They had a superstitious reverence for mere wealth and rank apart from any individual merit; and Nonconformists had a sort of sneaking idea that the Church, because it was the Church of the wealthy and the aristocratic portion of the community of the country, was a little better than their own chapels. (Laughter and applause.) That was a great mistake. It was true that there were some of them who had no such feeling, but still they too often found that when a man advanced a little in the world, when he had got on far enough to start a horse and gig, he deserted the chapel with which he was originally connected, and slid into the aristocratic Church. He thought the existence of that sentiment was much to be regretted, for really there was no difference at all between the Churches. The name Dissenter was as good as Churchman. (Hear, hear.) Sound them together, one was as sweet as the other; test them, and they would find that Brutus would raise a spirit as soon as Cæsar. (Cheers.) They wanted, therefore, Dissenters not to have that emasculating, weak leaning for what was termed the respectable Church, but to stand on their own legs and say they were men. (Loud cheers.) Now, he knew of no man in this country better fitted to engender that manly, independent spirit than the distinguished statesman at his right. (Loud applause.) The equality he preached had been believed in by large sections of the youth, and the youth would change the political aspect of this country. (Applause.) The time would come, and he trusted speedily, when the equality which Mr. Miall preached would be realised. (Loud applause.) The Government in office had rendered them good service in many respects. (Applause.) It was advancing their cause in many respects, and he was willing to do all honour to the Prime Minister. (Applause.) However much their opponents were disposed to sneer at and condemn him, it was well for Liberal politicians to stand up in his defence. (Applause.) They might think him wrong on some matters; but still Mr. Gladstone was a sincere, conscientious man. (Loud applause.) The whole history of his life had tended in their direction, and many great measures which he had given practical assent to had advanced the cause they had at heart. (Applause.) Though some of his recent efforts had been retarded by his colleagues, and though there had been a disposition not only not to grant all they desired, but to a certain extent to trample on their sympathies respecting certain measures which had recently received the assent of the Legislature, they hoped with Mr. Miall and other members that a better state of things would be brought about. (Applause.) He trusted that Mr. Miall would live to see the time when his great dream of religious equality would be recognised. (Cheers.) Mr. Miall was also known to them, not only as a politician and a statesman, but as a journalist. (Applause.) He was the editor of one of the purest, one of the most ably conducted, and one of the most fairest papers that he knew. (Loud applause.) Both as the leader of the advocates of religious equality, and as the chief journalist of the Nonconformist body, he was entitled to their warmest respect and confidence. There were two men with whom he would associate the name of his distinguished guest, the leader of the anti-corn law movement, Mr. Richard Cobden; and the leader of the American anti-slavery movement, Mr. Garrison—(loud applause);—and he trusted, as those two men lived to see their day-dream realised, so would Mr. Miall live to see his cherished idea accomplished. (Loud cheers.) In the name of that meeting, and in the name of the earnest Liberals and Radicals of the north of England, he bade Mr. Miall welcome to Newcastle. (Loud cheers.) They knew him; they trusted in him—(applause)—they had faith in and regard for him; and he hoped he would live to see the full realisation of the promise of his early life. (Loud applause.) He asked them to drink his health—the health of a man whose name was a passport to the respect of his contemporaries and to the undying praise of history. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

The toast was enthusiastically responded to.

Mr. MIALL then rose amid enthusiastic cheering, and said: Mr. Cowen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Out of the depth and fulness of my heart I thank you. I thank you for having done me the distinction and the honour of inviting me, although personally almost a stranger in Newcastle, to be your guest on this occasion. I thank you for the numbers in which you have gathered, and especially for the tone of enthusiasm which evidently pervades this assembly. And I thank your chairman, Mr. Cowen, for the very kind but too flattering terms in which he has alluded to my past labours. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, next to the consciousness of having served a cause which has commended itself to all the faculties and all the sympathies of my nature as right and true, are the approbation, the co-operation, and the affectionate esteem which I have won during the prosecution of my work. (Loud cheers.) I have indeed faced many difficulties and much obloquy, but I can say truly that, on the whole, my life has been a happy one; and that in following out the dictates of my conscience, and in drinking in, as it were, the cheers of my fellow-men in the prosecution of that work, I have found full satisfaction both to my mind and to my heart. (Applause.) I am not a man of war. (Loud applause.) I would very gladly at this moment, nay, thankfully, give up the enterprise, if my conscience recommended me to do so. (Hear, hear.) It is not a pleasure to me to be not merely opposed by my fellow-men, but abused by them. (Laughter and applause.) I have seen many things relating to myself and to my work that I would rather not have seen, although I must confess candidly that I could use the language of Brutus in reference to these things, and say, "They passed by me as the idle wind which I respect not." (Laughter.) But I would most gladly and willingly retire into the bosom of my family, and prepare for that change which must come upon all men—by reflection, by study, by withdrawal from the mere trifles of life, and by prayer. That would be far more grateful to me than to continue an enterprise which calls for much self-sacrifice, and which constantly exposes one's name to be vilified by those who cannot understand one's position. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.) But I am not yet going to give up. There has occurred nothing yet calculated to frighten me out of the field—(applause)—and if I had felt some temptation strong at different periods of my history to leave the battle to be fought by other men more competent than myself, yet, at the same time do I remember that the events of my life, under the guidance of Providence, have put in my power and within my reach a moral influence that cannot be acquired by any other person upon this subject. (Loud applause.) I will not throw that away until I am plainly bidden to throw it away. When that time comes, I shall be thankful to quit the more public scene for that which is more private, and leave other men, many of them now around me, to carry on the great work—if it is necessary at that time—to which I have consecrated my days. (Loud applause.) I have spoken thus much about myself, and now I dismiss that subject altogether. You assemble here rather to do honour to a principle than to me—and to me only as the representative of a principle. (Hear, hear.) You have expressed, I may say, your goodwill to an enterprise which will be the question of questions in this country for some years to come, and that is expressed in two words—religious equality. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) We like, sometimes, as it were, to wrap up our purposes in words which will not excite too much objection from our adversaries. (Laughter and applause.) We mean by religious equality, the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church—(Hear, hear)—on the same basis, though not altogether on the same detailed plan, as that by which the Irish Church was disestablished in 1869. This is our enterprise, and it is an enterprise which is on the one side religious, on the other side political; the one pursued with a view to carry out our faith, the other pursued with a view to establish our notions of justice;—(applause.)—the one commending itself, I think, to all reflecting Christian men who have fairly and thoroughly gone into the reasons of the question, and the other commending itself to that large portion of the outside public, just lately endowed with the Parliamentary franchise, and who have scarcely yet given an expression to their opinion or their judgment upon a question of this nature. (Applause.) Well, now, what is this enterprise? Described in as few words as we can describe it, it is our purpose—I mean the purpose of the Liberation Society, of those whom I am leading both in the House of Commons and out of it—it is our purpose, not to injure the Church—(Hear, hear)—not to touch the Church—(applause)—not to legislate on behalf of the Church, but simply to alter the Church's position and relationship to the State. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.) We wish to see those institutions which have been organised with a view to diffuse the sentiments and to inculcate the faith of our Lord and Master, sustained, kept in order, stimulated as necessity may require, not by the law of civil society, but by the impulses which come from belief in the truth of God. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) We have no wish whatever to lay hand upon that which belongs fairly to the English Church, but we have a strong desire to take away that which, being the property of the people, has been appropriated to the sectarian purposes of the Church. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) We believe that religion will be all the better for not being sustained in any manner by the provisions of law. (Applause.) We believe that all classes of the country will harmonise socially far more closely and affectionately,

supposing this cause of difference to be removed from their midst. We believe, in fact, that the Church will never accomplish the one great purpose for which it has been instituted and organised until the Church derives her whole power from spiritual sources, and has refused to act upon that power which has been proffered to her by civil authority. ("Hear, hear," and great applause.) Well, gentlemen, that is the enterprise on its religious side. On its political side, what we want is justice. (Hear, hear.) Nothing more, nothing less. (Loud applause.) If I am speaking in the presence of working men on this occasion—we are all working men, it is true, but I mean those who have lately received the franchise in our boroughs—if I am addressing any such, I would put it to them whether it is not a matter of the supremest importance to them that the laws and the institutions of this country should be squared, not according to their interests, but according to the interests of the whole community. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) I believe that they would not ask for themselves that which they were not prepared to give to others—(applause)—at all events, I would profess my disinclination to take anything from others that I am not ready to give up on my own behalf. (Great applause.) And with regard to religious institutions, I would say that this institution—being a monopoly, obstructing as it does by its machinery national progress, generally standing in the way of the fair and full development of the minds of our labouring population, and appropriating to its own narrow and sectional uses a very large annual amount of money that might fairly be appropriated to national uses of a broader character—(applause)—I say that this institution ought greatly to interest the working classes of this country, and that they too might join with us in accomplishing the disestablishment and disendowment to which we are looking forward. (Applause.) Well, now, such is the general purpose to which we have devoted ourselves. Is that purpose a fair one? ("Yes," and "Hear, hear.") Is it good? Is it feasible? (Loud applause.) Can it be carried into effect without entirely subverting the whole order of society in this country? ("Yes, yes," and immense applause.) In few words, I think you wish to know what is the character of this enterprise, and what is its present position? As to its character, I will say but little. Certainly it is legitimate, if it be legitimately pursued. (Hear, hear.) I see constantly in the daily newspapers—I mean in newspapers both metropolitan and provincial, sometimes in visitation charges, sometimes in speeches at Church congresses, and sometimes on occasions of festivity like the present—I see that oftentimes this one enterprise to sever the Church from its civil and political ties, and to put it entirely upon its own spiritual footing, has been spoken of as profane, as outrageous, as a purpose that never could have been entered upon by any men who felt within them the promptings of religious faith and impulse. (Laughter.) I need say nothing about that to this assembly. ("Hear, hear," and great applause.) I am quite certain that it would only be carrying coals to Newcastle—(laughter)—to be urging the legitimacy of the enterprise upon which we have entered upon an assembly like this. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) But is it feasible? When I first entered upon my public life I quite remember the Chancellor of the Exchequer then serving, Sir Charles Wood, saying to a Yorkshire audience with regard to the separation of Church and State, "I should like to see the man living who can tell me what that is." (Laughter.) Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have got a long way beyond that. (Applause.) When Columbus, you remember, put it to a dinner-party where he was engaged that none of them could make an egg stand on end, and all tried—some on the broad and some on the narrow end, and none succeeding—he just simply broke the end of the egg and made it stand. (Laughter and applause.) And, of course, the remark made was that anybody could do that. (Laughter.) So with regard to the separation of the Church and State. The question of disestablishment and disendowment does not require now to be pointed out as feasible. It is done. ("Hear, hear," and great cheering.) We have it in the sister isle. We know that the thing can be done because it has been thoroughly and completely accomplished there, and, consequently, we know that the people being fairly convinced, and the opportunity being favourable, politically speaking—we know, as well as that we exist, that this experiment will be tried in this country, and at no very great distance of time we shall be able to put into the statute-book, and to carry out by administrative organisation, every idea that we mean to express by the term "separation of the Church and State." (Loud applause.) But it is not only so. The enterprise is not only one that we can accomplish, and shall accomplish, but it is one that, in the process of the accomplishment, will be elevating and maturing the minds of our fellow-countrymen. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) All the principles which belong to disestablishment and disendowment are of a refining character. (Hear, hear.) They are all of them fitted to give one purer, higher, more practical, and more glorious notions of a great moral work. We in this country are material enough. We have pursued commercial ends in our legislation until we can declare that we have almost all the measures in that direction that we ever require—(Hear, hear)—and, perhaps we have somewhat lowered the tone of our own minds in the earnestness with which we have prosecuted mere

secular engagements. There will be nothing so improving to the great working classes, who have been brought into the fresh enjoyment of the franchise, as to set them at once in pursuit of an enterprise that will lift their minds a little above wages, and such like, and place them upon principles of higher value; and I am certain of this, that they will be the first to rejoice at having a question put before them which will expand their minds, which will exercise their judgments and strengthen them, and which will give tone to the best sympathies of their own natures. (Loud applause.) I don't believe—if you could tell the working men of this country that they would gain 5,000,000*l.* a year towards an addition to their financial means—I don't believe that they would feel so much interest in this question as if you could put it to them that they are bound to use the powers they possess for patriotic purposes, for purposes of justice, aye, for purposes of religion—(applause)—although they may stand aside from our religious organisations. (Cheers.) It is not only they, but it is all the country that I think would be greatly benefited by the new process of arriving at a just and correct result with regard to this question. (Loud applause.) But, ladies and gentlemen, what are our prospects? (Hear, hear.) Well, if anybody read the *Times* of yesterday, I believe that they would have a tolerably fair indication of which way the cat is going to jump. (Laughter and applause.) I believe that very few persons have been in society—I mean in that which calls itself society—(loud laughter)—very few persons have been much in society of late who have not had some conversation upon the subject of disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England, and I won't say amongst the laity, but I may say amongst the dignified clergy of that Church there is a general tendency to surrender the whole thing as foregone. (Laughter.) I have not the smallest doubt that they feel it to be their duty that the change shall come about as slowly as possible; but a change they expect, and that change is precisely the one that we have been, for the last twenty or thirty years, endeavouring to instil the necessity of into the minds of our fellow-countrymen. Twenty-five years, I believe, is the extreme limit which people of that class—the dignified ecclesiastical class—(laughter)—allow for the continuance of the present English Establishment. Ten years, some say; even seven years is the limit assigned to it by others. (Laughter.) I do not want for a moment to assume the character of a prophet; and only judge the effect from the cause; and if I see the cause which carries with it certain effect, and the cause has become operative, I am perfectly assured that the effect will follow in due time. (Applause.) Our friend, if I may so speak of a newspaper that represents the prevailing opinion of the hour—(laughter)—the *Times*—"Oh, oh"—our friend there says—"Oh, don't be in a hurry don't make a fuss—(laughter)—don't press on the pace too fast—(more laughter)—the stream is constantly flowing; you will put the seed into the earth, some time must elapse in order that it may germinate and bring forth its proper fruit. (Loud laughter.) Nobody now talks of the Establishment as though it were to be a stable institution. A clergyman even, unless he be a very young one—(laughter)—is perfectly resigned—(loud laughter)—to the consequence which must come. We all know that it is coming; don't go amongst the people and agitate, then, when you know very well that the question is coming forward as fast—in fact—as is good for itself." (Loud laughter and applause.) Well, we know that the stream is constantly flowing towards the ultimate end at which we have aimed, but at the same time we regard it as one of the inducements that should prompt us to take advantage of the stream in order that we may get to the end a little quicker than we otherwise should have done, and consequently bar accidents which may occur in the interval of time. It is not because the stream is running from one port to another that people are contented. Usually speaking, where the stream runs even the strongest, they will have their steamers to go down the stream with, and will land at the port much sooner than they would otherwise have done. But I wish to say one word about the position of the question inside Parliament. Last session the question was submitted to Parliament, in all its breadth and amplitude, for the first time, as an abstract proposition. It was declared that it would be just to place the English Church upon the same footing as the Irish Church, and that the policy which justified the one justified the other. (Applause.) Well, there were near upon a hundred members who went into the lobby to say "Aye" to the motion. (Loud applause.) I believe it is the almost unanimous opinion amongst those who know the workings of the House of Commons that if you begin a reasonable course with a hundred members, that the cause is virtually secured. For my own part, I felt no sort of disappointment at what seemed to be relatively a small division. I felt that here consisted the nucleus of a Parliamentary power that would hereafter either break to pieces existing Governments or Governments to come, or, at any rate, would bring about the accomplishment of the end which we have desired. (Loud applause.) And, ladies and gentlemen, I still have that opinion and that faith most strongly upon my mind; whether I shall be able to lead in the House of Commons hereafter, or whether others shall take possession of the question, in default of my leaving, is a matter of the smallest importance. That which is of the most importance is this—that the question has now

been raised from a low sectarian position to a broad national position—(loud applause)—that it has taken its place beside other great political questions of the day, and that, consequently, it will be pushed forward by one influence or by another influence until at last it is reduced from an idea to a reality. (Applause.) What are the signs in regard to the future in the House of Commons? These, that they have all given up arguing the question upon its merits. (Laughter.) Not a single member that I know of the House of Commons has fairly stood by this question on the ground that a State-Church is the most appropriate mode of supporting religion in the land, or of sustaining religious institutions. Mr. Gladstone says—and surely he has the best eye for the different currents of society, and besides, he is a semi-ecclesiastical man, with all his sympathies in favour of the Church as a religious institution—he says it is a question for the people to consider and for the people to decide. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) "When you have converted the people out of doors, then you may try and convert the House of Commons." Well, we have accepted that challenge. (Applause.) We believe that we shall be able to do that which Mr. Gladstone has, with something like a taunt, called upon us to do. We shall convert—I don't say we, but events—we working with events and explaining them. At all events, the influences which are abroad now in the intellectual atmosphere of this country and in the ecclesiastical are of such a number that, no doubt, out of them will come a general tendency of the minds of the people towards the end to which we are looking forward. (Applause.) The whole current of social feeling must run back if we were to come to any other conclusion than that which Mr. Gladstone has challenged us to bring about. Well, then, ladies and gentlemen, what are we to do in order that we may testify to the strength and to the sincerity of our principles? Of course they won't convert or convince the people of this country by their own mere agency. The agency must be human, though the ideas may be divine. (Cheers.) We are all of us entrusted with political power—those of us who are entrusted with political power—for the express purpose of religiously doing the best we can for the people of the country. Now we cannot shrink from standing by principles which, instead of being apart from the general policy of the country, are now mixed up with the general policy of the country, and consequently we expect that at the next general election, although this question will not be probably the testing question of every place and borough wherever there is a contest carried on, yet there will be a determination on the part of those who hold principles of religious equality that they will have their fair share of Parliamentary influence and of Parliamentary power. (Hear, hear.) We have always been treated as an orange by the moderate party. I do not know how to explain it better. (Laughter.) We have all been treated as an orange: we have been sucked until all the juice has been sucked out of us, and then thrown away. (Renewed laughter.) It has been so under every administration, and it will be so under every administration, until we can stand on our own ground firmly and say—No, we have had enough of it. We have hitherto, perhaps, lost our sense of the importance of our principles in the view that we have taken of the importance of party; but for the future I think it would be well for us to look at principles alone. (Hear, hear.) Party has accomplished its programme, or within a little. The social questions which are coming up for discussion in Parliament are questions that need not divide party, and that are not themselves party questions. The consequence is that if we take our stand upon our principles, and say we have no great interest in the maintenance of what is called the Liberal party for the future, unless it has something to do—(Hear, hear)—and when it has something to do more important than that which we wish to be done by its agency, then we are perfectly right to assist it—but whilst it has nothing to do we put forward our question, and say this must be the question to which you adhere if you are to have our general support, either in the constituencies or in Parliament. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Now, the Nonconformists, if I may be permitted to say so, have never been an impracticable set of people. They have, if anything, erred on the other side, and have been far too complaisant in giving up their positions and their principles with a view to please the party with which they have been so long historically associated. (Hear, hear.) It will be undoubtedly a great source of regret to them if they cannot for the future act with that party; but if that party intend not only not to produce any great scheme for the good of the country by itself, but also to prevent us from producing and laying before Parliament, or before the constituencies, such a scheme, then I say it is quite time we parted. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Very sorry shall I be that such a consummation has been wrought; but even the wounded worm will turn again. We cannot be trampled upon by members of the administration as we have been during the last six months—(applause)—without saying that we respect ourselves too highly, to say nothing of the sentiments that we hold, to allow that kind of proceeding to be held towards us. We may be cantered over as a very small party, but, after all, the difficulty which is cantered over may still remain, and I believe it will be found, during the next two or three years, that all classes of Nonconformists who really value national advance in religion beyond merely sectarian advance, will be united in demand.

ing that the great cause and source of sectarianism, favouritism, and monopoly—religious monopoly—in this country shall be done away with—(cheers)—and that there shall be, as speedily as possible, the separation of the Church from the State. (Loud cheers.) This, ladies and gentlemen, is the object to which I have consecrated my life. This is the purpose I hold with regard to the future. I thank you greatly once again for having encouraged me in the prosecution of this object. (Cheers.) I know well enough that this meeting represents an immense political power in this district—(“Hear, hear,” and applause)—if that political power be only courageously used. (Hear, hear.) I would not involve you in electoral contests, which you in your judgment believe to be imprudent and mischievous, but this I will say to you all, now is the time, if ever, to place truth beyond party ties, and to be determined that whatever may be the consequences, whether to this Ministry, to this Parliament, or to the party, truth shall not be once more set aside, trampled upon with disdain, and associated, in fact, with sectarian and narrow purposes. (Cheers.) We have to see that that is not done, and I hope and believe that English Nonconformity will have the pluck to stand up before this Ministry and say, “We won’t have it”—(loud cheers)—for rather than have it, we will say “We won’t have you.” (Cheers.) And this, I think, although it may not immediately alter the phase of the question, will alter it in a very short time. Two general elections will be sufficient, I hope—(cheers)—so far to have tested the knowledge, the information, the judgment, the convictions of the people of this country upon this subject as to satisfy even our present Premier that he may safely go forward. (Loud applause.) And, ladies and gentlemen, when the time comes, and when, if I am alive at the time, the cause shall have been ultimately successful, and that which we now regard simply as a vision shall actually be touched in the spirit of reality, then, I think, we may once more assemble ourselves together, and may astonish perhaps the *Times* by shouting the paeans of victory instead of talking over the hard work which has to be accomplished. (Mr. Miall resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged cheering.)

Dr. RUTHERFORD, who was received with loud cheering, said he believed it was in that very room that the first meeting—the first great public meeting—for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, just before the famous session when it became an accomplished fact, was held. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that the meeting that night would be the beginning of a movement which would eventuate very shortly in the application of the same principle to their own country. (Hear, hear.) If religious equality was a good thing for Ireland, it surely could not be a bad thing for Scotland and for England. (Hear, hear.) They were not advocates of religious uniformity. They did not want that everybody should think alike, and never dreamed that it was possible that in a free country all men should think alike on questions of religion. And it was because they were advocates of absolute liberty of thought that they were also advocates of religious equality. (Cheers.) What was it that they asked? They did not ask that there should be fewer bishops—although, perhaps, they fairly asked that no man, because was a bishop, should legislate for this country—(cheers)—in the House of Lords or anywhere else. (Cheers.) They would not deprive the bishops or the clergymen of the Church of England of their civil rights. They contended that those civil rights should be protected. They were dear to them, and they believed that they were dear to their opponents, and they would not take any of those rights from them. They did not wish to interfere with the spiritual life of the Church: they only wanted to free it from what they believed to be an incubus to hinder its development. They had Broad Church, Low Church, and High Church. As Nonconformists and Liberationists they took no sides in the debates that went on in the Church of England. They wanted perfect freedom there as they wanted it outside. They asked that all men in this country should stand, so far as they had any association with its religious life, upon a perfect level; that every office in the State should be open to every man without any regard to his sectarian views. Aye, and they asked that that which was the greatest heritage of their country, the education of the poor, should not be tinged with sectarianism. (Loud cheers.) It was time that there were Ministers in the Cabinet, and there were doubt weak-kneed Liberals out of the Cabinet who believed that this was a question that did not touch the heart of the people; but they would very soon discover that the great mass of the people of this country were more concerned for its national than for its denominational life. (Cheers.) It was true that the Liberal party did not seem to see that matter very clearly; but they would do so when they got into the cold shade of opposition, as they might do, if a few more Plymouth elections occurred. (Hear, hear.) They came into power with at any rate an overwhelming majority—a majority that would never have been secured had not Mr. Gladstone unfurled the banner of religious equality. (Hear, hear.) What was the difference, he would ask, between a Whig and Tory, between a Liberal and a Tory now? Why, the fiscal questions were almost all settled. They were all free-traders now. Nobody would think of bringing back protection. Well, they were all Radicals as to the franchise. They owed the most, the largest enfranchisement to a Tory. Let them recognise that fact. What

were the questions which divided Liberal from Conservative now? If he might take it rightly, they were the ecclesiastical questions. (Cheers.) They were the questions that touched the religious life of the community. The Nonconformists of England had nobly banded together to help Mr. Gladstone into power in order to free the Roman Catholics across the Channel—in order to free them from an alien Church, and to promote the great principle of religious equality there. And had they not a right to ask the Roman Catholics of this country to help them to apply the same principle to England? (Cheers.) It was that principle that had rallied the people to Mr. Gladstone. If Mr. Gladstone was perfectly true to that principle, and would carry it out, there was no fear for his position. There was no fear for the future of the country. But whether he did it or not, there were men who would do it. (Cheers.) They had amongst them that night a man of sterling worth, a man of honest mind, who had sacrificed everything to his convictions. There were thousands and tens of thousands of youths in this country whom his words had touched, who would rally round him and help to lead him on. (Cheers.) They were told it was not wise to apply the principle of religious equality to England. The case, they were told, was wholly different from the case of Ireland. Well, surely they would not be told that the case of Wales was different. (Hear, hear.) There was as great a majority of Dissenters in Wales from the Established Church, he believed, in proportion to the population, as there were in Ireland. How was it in Scotland? The great mass of the people there were not connected with the Established Church. How was it in their own country? He would make bold to say that in England the majority of the people were not adherents of the Established Church. (Hear, hear.) The time when they should be satisfied with toleration was past and gone. They did not want to stand on any higher level than that which was occupied by their co-religionists in the Church of England. It was not a question as between Dissent and Church, but it was a question as between the nation and a sect. (Cheers.) He had much pleasure in proposing the sentiment of “Religious equality,” and in associating with that sentiment the name of Mr. Illingworth—(cheers)—who had been a trusty friend to their distinguished guest, who was well hated by those who liked sectarianism—(cheers)—and who was dearly loved by men who believed in free thought, breadth of sentiment, and in the eventual triumph of that great principle which had brought them together that night—the principle that all men, whatever might be their diversities of religious thought, should, in the eye of the law, stand upon one common level. (Loud applause.)

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., said it was not to him a matter of any great surprise that a sentiment of that kind should be received in that hall on that occasion with great enthusiasm, for they had welcomed a man to whom the very phrase belonged, and to whom, more than any other man living, the present position of the question was due. He was happy to think that they might treat this now, not as a sentiment, but as a principle. It had not been adopted by the Nonconformists of this country alone, or applied to one part of the kingdom and treated with indifference and unconcern by the rest of the empire. Nearly the whole of our colonies had disestablished the odious principle of favouritism in ecclesiastical matters which was foisted on their institutions by this country at the outset, and the new England which had sprung up in different parts of the world were in the full enjoyment of that to which their own fond hopes were turned. It was not his intention to occupy the time of that influential gathering, knowing the circumstances under which they had come together; but he must say that on entering Parliament he did look on the disestablishment of the Irish Church as only a part of the great settlement of a huge question. (Loud cheers.) At the same time, he did not look forward to the necessity of pressing unduly on the public and on Parliament attention to the remaining portions of the empire, but was bound to confess that after the treatment they had received as Nonconformists, at the hands of the Liberal Government, there was no alternative before them, if their self-respect was to remain, and their principles to be defended, but to take the course recommended by his friend Mr. Miall. (Cheers.) Surely a Liberal Government could never suppose that they should make a sacrifice for religious equality on the other side of the Channel, and yet be willing in their own persons to receive the outrage that had been committed. For his own part, he was bold to say that they were justified, in the circumstances of the case, in turning a perfectly deaf ear to every proposal made to them, and in pushing forward to a settlement of this great question of religious equality at once, unless the Government of the day was prepared to be more revolutionary than any design which could yet be traced to it, and unless there was any great scheme of change to which it has not yet committed itself. He asked that assembly, and through them appealed to the intelligence of the entire country, whether there was an injustice remaining on the statute-book which, in its extent and grievousness, at all approached that of which they were complaining? The fact that one part of the empire was on the level of religious equality made the bonds and fetters of inequality more galling to them. Contrast the religious equality of one portion of the empire with the state of things in another part (referred to by Dr. Rutherford) in

Wales, where nine-tenths of the people were Dissenters, having their own religious organisations, and yet were compelled to pay towards the support of the Church of a small minority, and bow to the Church which was dominant there. In all our large centres of industry, where the population was large, we found voluntary principles in the Church called into active play, and that the Establishment principle and theory broke down everywhere. In that town they had a parish church representing the Establishment, where everything was done in that perfunctory fashion in which State religion was invariably performed; but then, there were other churches which did not differ materially from the voluntary Nonconformist churches. On all hands they found Churchmen appealing to the voluntary principle, and unconsciously condemning the very principle of Establishment—condemning it because they were proving by their acts that they must rely on voluntarism to maintain their own position religiously. He was satisfied of this, that though they had not in the House of Commons more than 100 members to vote with them, there were already there a very large number of men on whom a very little pressure would need to be applied in order to determine their course. (Cheers.) He felt satisfied that those members of the House of Commons, though reluctant to join in the policy which Nonconformists advocated, would look twice and think seriously before they abandoned their places in the House rather than commit themselves to the policy of disestablishment and disendowment for Scotland and England. The question was no longer one of theory, and surrounded with insurmountable difficulties. As Mr. Miall had shown, it was a principle which, having been applied to Ireland, was only a question of magnitude as applied to England. A certain number of commissioners had to settle the details of disendowment in Ireland; they would just need double the number to deal with the question as it affected England. If they were true to their principles and traditions, and honoured their ancestors who suffered persecution for conscience sake, as well as their fathers to whom toleration was a boon, they would embrace every opportunity of adhering to the principle of religious equality, and insist, in every direction, in pressing it to the front. (Cheers.) Happily, as the gentleman who preceded him remarked, there were few party questions to stand in the way. We had got free trade, and our fiscal affairs were in such a condition that there was not much to be hoped for from either Liberal or Conservative Governments. Who would fear if a Conservative Government were entrusted with the reins of power in the country for a short time? It might indeed be a disappointment to placemen, but to the great majority of men in this country it would be a matter of small concern to see a change in the occupants of the Treasury Bench for a short time. He looked forward to the next general election to bring about a great change in the personnel of the House of Commons. Their Whig friends would have to join the Conservative party, or advance with the advancing party. They now occupied the Liberal benches without having any idea of progress whatever, and all that was required was that the same strain should be applied to their feelings which Mr. Gladstone applied to them when the disestablishment of the Irish Church took place. They were no more willing for that than for the disestablishment of the English Church, but when they found that the leaders and the great body of the party were going in that direction, they were loyal to their party and followed unwillingly in the rear. The same pressure must be applied to them again. Where Dissenters were numerous, and the popular element powerful and intelligent, as in such constituencies as that of Newcastle, it was better that they should be represented by an opponent who did not intend to do anything, than by a man in the guise of a friend who did nothing in the world for them. (Cheers.) There was one view of the question he wished to put forward, and which, he thought, was more than important at the present time. The Liberal Government had been blamed for the small amount of work turned out during the last session, and it could not be denied that there was a series of social and other questions which would tax the time and energies of Parliament. On this account it was most important that Parliament should be freed from the duty of framing internal laws and reforms for any religious sect in this country. During the last session there came before Parliament about thirty bills affecting the Church of England, some of them occupying a great deal of time, so that the House of Commons and House of Lords—especially the latter—could not deal with imperial questions if their time were taken up by matters affecting a section of the religious community. They would much facilitate public business by handing over to the Church the management of its own affairs, as had been done in Ireland. There, all parties were now voluntaries, and even the Episcopalians in that country were becoming so in principle and conviction. They had in the House of Commons a large body of Nonconformists, and even Jews had been admitted, and yet the Church came with questions affecting her own internal working in the most delicate forms, and asked the House to give judgment as to the fitness of certain propositions which might be brought before it in the form of bills. It was surely neither prudent nor necessary that the House of Commons should be called upon to deal with such questions, for which it was a totally unfit tribunal, and on this ground he thought the time was coming when Parliament must be altogether re-

lieved from such legislation as that he had referred to. More than that, how could it be satisfactory to zealous and sincere Churchmen that such a body as the House of Commons should have the management of its affairs? When the Table of Lessons Bill came before the House, about half of the members then present were Dissenters, and yet they were allowed to decide whether the new table of lessons was more fitted for the Church than the old table. Some gentlemen proposed to go into the matter by looking at and comparing them, but Mr. Gladstone protested that if they took such a course, it would be impossible to effect any Church reform, and he said they must take it as a whole, in a lump, and allow it to pass. What was such an endorsement worth to the Church of England, and what satisfaction could she derive from the judgments of a tribunal of this sort? There was only one process by which she could make her way and maintain her position in this country. She was outgrowing the bonds which tied her to the State, and these were becoming more odious and painful. She would take disestablishment to-morrow if there were not the difficulty of disendowment. (Laughter and cheering.) It was sometimes charged against Dissenters that they coveted what was called Church property, but he thought the most ardent in the pursuit of loaves and fishes would be found amongst those who were in the Church of England, and were supposed to be very spiritual. He was inclined to think there was a feeling in favour of disendowment which would grow in the Church itself. They had seen it in Church congresses and in many circles of earnest zealous Churchmen, and these would soon be joined by a large body of men in the House of Commons, who would ask for freedom at a sacrifice that was inevitable. Mr. Gladstone, he was convinced in his own mind, from the attention he gave to the Irish Church question, could not be far from the condition of conviction. But they must not forget that he was the leader of a party; and that he would not be justified in precipitating a settlement of this great question unless he had public opinion at his back. He believed he would be as proud to lead them on this question as on any other; and it was in the hands of the people to justify him in making the move. The great power which they had to wield was amongst the popular constituencies. Amongst the working men there remained sufficient intelligence and independence to put in their hands the ball and game. They would be having household suffrage in the counties before long. It belonged to Newcastle, and to the thriving towns round Newcastle, thoroughly to organise. Branches of the Liberation Society must spring up everywhere. They must hold discussions, circulate publications, and make it the topic of conversation in season and out of season. The cause warranted them in doing so. The stake was large. They could not have a revolution in this country: they carried everything by peaceable means. These were the means which gained us our political privileges, and which knocked off the shackles of the slave; and these were the means which would secure to us before long the full realisation of perfect religious equality. (Great applause.)

The Rev. H. T. RORJOHNS proposed the sentiment of "The Liberation Society," coupled with the name of Mr. Carvell Williams. He said the whole Nonconformist community were deeply indebted to Mr. Illingworth for the service he rendered in aiding their friend Mr. Miall to a seat in Parliament, and also to Mr. Williams, on whom devolved the largest amount of actual work in connection with this great movement. And he was glad to know that Mr. Williams would have more work to do in the future than he had yet done. He believed it would not be long before the working men of this great people found out that not only had the Church of England worked mischievously in a religious sense, but that it had barred the way of social and political progress, and of the enlightenment of the whole people.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, in responding to the sentiment, alluded to the rarity of the festive gatherings which had taken place in connection with the Liberation movement. They had had many occasions for triumph, but in carrying on their work it had been their object rather to allay than to perpetuate any irritation of feeling. They also felt that this was a struggle for truth rather than for personal triumphs; and further, their aims had been so strictly practical that they never thought anything done so long as anything remained to be done; so that, forgetting the things behind, they pressed on to those before, and made one victory the stepping-stone to another. (Cheers.) He had to-night been mentally reviewing some of the society's work. He hoped it would never be said of it, as had been said of a pre-eminently prudent individual, that "he never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." (A laugh.) They had probably done some things which would better have been left undone, and said some things which they had better not have said. But there was one proud boast in which they might indulge; for of all the Acts of Parliament which they had assisted to place on the statute-book, there was not one which they now wished to be repealed. (Loud cheers.) Nay, he would go further, and say that only a small proportion of their fellow-countrymen now wished for their repeal. After referring to some of the points already gained, and to the Irish Church Act in particular, the speaker proceeded to allude to the changed opinions of Churchmen on the question, and in doing so made some amusing references. To show the necessity for fresh action, he gave an

analysis of the votes of the Durham and Northumberland members on Mr. Miall's motion. Seven out of the fourteen Liberals voted with him, two voted against him, and whereas all the five Conservative members were at their posts and voted against the motion there were five Liberal absentees. He had not yet recovered from his astonishment on finding that two of these were Nonconformists of the strictest sect. (Hear.) What they had to take care of [now] was that the future should be better than the past; working with the assurance that they would ultimately completely triumph.

Mr. MIALL said he could not allow an assembly, which had so gratified him that evening, to pass away without asking them to present the chairman with their thanks for his noble conduct on the occasion. There was one thing that gave him (Mr. Miall) and other labourers in the cause unbounded satisfaction, and it was that, over the several counties and in the various towns they could point to this man and that man whose interest in his own district was great, and whose name was a tower of strength in the cause in which he was engaged. There was more than one man of that description in Newcastle, and one of them was Mr. Joseph Cowen, jun. (Loud cheers.) He had to propose a hearty vote of thanks to that gentleman for his services in the chair. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. W. SHILLITO said he had been asked to second the motion, as it was desired that a speaker from Sunderland should make his voice heard there that evening. (Hear, hear.) There was a large contingent present from Sunderland—(Hear)—and they were creating a little noise to make themselves heard. (Cheers.) They were, however, doing something in the Town Council which would make their voices heard throughout the country. (Loud cheers.) He had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to their chairman. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, said they had had a very gratifying meeting, and they were very much encouraged by the result of Mr. Miall's visit. They had every confidence in Mr. Miall's leadership, and he hoped that they might meet at no distant date to celebrate the success of the principles he had served for so long a time. (Loud applause.)

The meeting then terminated.

WORKING MEN AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

A large public meeting held at Leeds on Tuesday night passed resolutions in favour of the separation of Church and State. The speakers included Mr. George Potter, the Rev. H. Thomas, Alderman Nathan, and Alderman Carter, M.P. There was considerable opposition, and the speakers had great difficulty in making themselves heard, owing to the frequent outbursts of yells, hisses, and groans. The National Anthem was sung several times during the evening, amid which the voices of the speakers were drowned. A counter proposition met with a large show of hands, but the chairman declared the resolution in favour of disestablishment to be carried. Many people showed themselves disposed to dispute this decision, and the chairman then dissolved the meeting. A working man named Baldwin rose, however, to move another resolution, and he declared that it was not working men, but Conservative gentlemen, who brought about this confusion. Alderman Carter, M.P., attempted to address the meeting, but he was obliged to confine his remarks to the reporters. He spoke as follows on the subject of State grants to the Established Churches of the United Kingdom:—

In each year from 1809 to 1820 Parliament voted 100,000*l.* per annum from national sources for Church purposes, making in all the sum of 1,100,000*l.* (Cries of "Shame!") In 1818, under the authority of the 58th of George III., cap. 45, 1,000,000*l.* more was granted by Parliament out of taxes for Church purposes. In 1824, under the authority of the 5th of George IV., cap. 103, 500,000*l.* more was granted. In 1817 Parliament sanctioned the payment of 153,000*l.* more for Church purposes. [During this half-century millions were voted in different parishes of England for the purpose of building and repairing churches, in addition to the sums granted by Parliament. During the period that Parliament granted this 2,700,000*l.* to the Church of England, it granted 2,490,000*l.* to the Church of Ireland, and it granted 425,000*l.* to the State-Church of Scotland. As to the Church-rates, take the case of Blackburn in Lancashire. In 1818, 15,000*l.* was taken from the ratepayers to build a parish church. Not having finished it in 1824, they took 18,000*l.* more, making 33,000*l.* to build the parish church of Blackburn. Hundreds of such cases occurred in different parts of the country, and it was only within the last few years that Church-rates had been abolished in our large towns. During the last session of Parliament, he (Mr. Carter) moved for a return of the value in fee simple of the estates of the bishops and of the deans and chapters. He was told that he could not have it, because they did not know what was the value of those estates. They gave him the value of the estates of fifteen bishops out of the twenty-seven. The value of those estates was 10,490,000*l.* (Cries of "Shame!") from those few who could hear.) Now, on the same principle, the value of those they did not give him was 5,464,000*l.*, making 15,954,000*l.* worth of property held by the bishops alone. In the same return he obtained the value in fee simple of the estates of the deans and chapters. Out of thirty-two corporations of deans and chapters he got only sixteen. What was the value of the property belonging to the sixteen? Twelve millions odd! On the same principle the value of those they did not give in the return was 11,000,000*l.* odd. Putting these sums together, it would be found that the estates of the deans and chapters and of the bishops—not of the clergy at all, it did not touch a single beneficed clergyman in the kingdom—amounted to more than forty millions sterling. Now, as the whole

of this was national property, he had a right to demand that it should be appropriated in some way so that he should have the benefit of it as well as the present holders. He concluded by alluding to the disturbance of the meeting by the Church party, and said he was anxious for a discussion on this subject, but if the other side dare not hear the disestablishment men, how could they expect that their advocates would be listened to?

KIDDERMINSTER.

On Thursday a public meeting was held in the Temperance Hall—Councillor Holloway in the chair—to hear an address from Mr. Potter on the separation of Church and State. There was a full attendance. In the course of his speech Mr. Potter said he was convinced the disestablishment of the English Church was a political necessity, and that the Church would be far better apart from the State. He said the Establishment was a religious wrong, a huge anomaly, and they must, if only for their welfare as a people, disconnect the Church from the State, leaving the people to pay those who preached pure and undefiled religion, and not those who don't. (Cheers.) Mr. W. Brook moved:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in England, Wales, and Scotland is a political necessity, and that her immense national revenues should be used for the whole of the people. Mr. G. Turner seconded the resolution, which was carried with a few dissentients. A resolution was also passed affirming the desirability of forming a committee at some future time, and the proceedings closed with the usual votes of thanks.

It is stated that the Working Men's Disestablishment Committee is to be opposed. There have been a number of meetings on the other side lately, and the result is the formation of a large committee of working men, representing all shades of opinion where the object is to support the English Church. The new organisation is to follow Mr. Potter and his friends to all public meetings, whereat its members will move amendments to all anti-State Church resolutions.

THE TIMES ON DISESTABLISHMENT.

The *Times* of last Wednesday contained an article of considerable significance. Our contemporary has no leanings towards disestablishment, but is forced to confess that the time for its accomplishment is near. "Cries of 'Church and State,' and 'the Church and the agricultural interest,' only excite a smile now," it says. "Here and there a few elderly or very youthful people are joining in little agitations, savouring of the old leaven, but the general attitude of the Church is that of resignation." The *Times* says the position of the Church of England has altered: our contemporary's own words are sufficient proof of that. "No doubt, a new order of things is at hand, and the England of the future is to be found, not in ancient institutions, but in a new people. If we want to know what we are to be, we must look into the prophetic mirror of colonial society. In process of time we can hardly fail to become like our own children across the Atlantic or under our feet." All the *Times* pleads for is patience with the old state of things—"not to retreat, or to desist, but simply not to force the pace and reduce progress to dead lock and confusion." The Church of England may be first among the denominations, but that is all it can expect. "So long as the Church of England is the best subject of the realm, the best citizen of the Commonwealth, the best worker in all the good works of the day, the soundest teacher of morals, the most peaceful member of the community, and the most tolerant of all believers, she will probably retain—not her supremacy, for it is hard to say whether that still exists, but—the foremost place among the denominations of this country."

In a second article on Monday the *Times* maliciously assumes that Mr. Miall is disappointed that his challenge to the Establishment is not sufficiently taken up, and that the work may be done without him. It is just possible—indeed, too probable—that the Church of England may continue to disappoint Mr. Miall by its facility of surrender. Cannot he goad it on to show fight? What he wants is a good counter-agitation. He avows that his own spiritual life and all the spiritual life he wots of is in this sort of work. Let not the Church follow suit. The question he stakes his all upon rests with the House of Commons and the constituencies. What the Church has to do is to leave Mr. Miall alone, and continue to set its own house in order, whether it live or die as an Establishment.

The Church of England is bound, in justice to herself and to the authority she claims, not wantonly to throw away an inch of her standing ground or an ounce of her worldly gear. They have been given her, and gifts are not to be flung in the face of the giver. They are to be made the very best of. But that is a very different thing from fighting for them tooth and nail either in the rude tussels of the platform or on the floor of the Senate. If they must go, let them go, and there will be found abundant consolation for their absence. The organisation of the "Establishment," as such, whether at home or abroad, is not so free, elastic, and efficient; the position of the bishops in the House of Lords is not so dignified and useful; the condition of the Church as regards the trial and settlement of her controversies is not so satisfactory, that large sacrifices should be made to keep these matters just as they are. Even if disestablishment, on the Irish model, is to involve a large diminution of aggregate income, that will only affect a small minority of the clergy, and will only constitute a new appeal to the richest body of religious laity in the world. Let not such a consummation be precipitated even by a day; let it not, on the other hand, be bought off by a single serious sacrifice. Let the morrow take care of itself, as it certainly will do. If the Church is

to fall from that state which Mr. Miall thinks so palmy, let it fall in the act of duty and in the midst of good and true work, not in loud and angry squabbling for things which it can certainly do without.

CHURCH DEFENCE.

A meeting of members of the University and others was held at Cambridge on Friday, for the purpose of establishing a Church Defence Association. The Bishop of Ely, who presided, disclaimed for the movement anything like a political or party character. Though the Church of England desired to conserve all that was good, it was a democratic rather than an aristocratic institution. The Church was always engaged on the side of order and liberty, and the best defence of the Church was Church work. There were, however, times when it was not only necessary to be able to work but also to fight. At the present time they saw attacks made, not only on the doctrines and faith of the Church, but on its very existence as an Establishment, and there was nothing unreasonable in the attempt to organise a defence to that attack. His lordship contended that the Church was much more liberal and comprehensive than it could be if it were separated from the State. It must also be remembered that it was not by the contribution of the State that the Church was supported, but by the endowments of their forefathers. It was a fact that ought to be impressed upon working men that they would not certainly be the richer if the property of the Church, which would realise some thirty or forty millions, were sold. It was resolved to establish a branch of the Church Defence Association in Cambridge.

A society for Birmingham and the midland counties is being formed under this title. Its object is explained in the following statement:—"As many questions affecting the welfare of the Church of England are likely to become the subject of legislative action, and as large and well-organised societies have been formed for the express purpose of agitating for its disestablishment and disendowment, it appears to be the duty of those who believe that the Established Church is a national blessing to unite together to resist the coming attack. At the same time, as all parties within the Church are ready to acknowledge that it stands in need of some administrative reforms, it is desirable to gain the sanction of public opinion to all measures calculated to promote the efficiency and welfare of the Church." Lord Harrowby is president of the society. Amongst the vice-presidents are Lord Lyttelton, Lord Sandon, Mr. R. P. Amphlett, M.P., Mr. J. Hardy, M.P., Mr. F. Monckton, M.P., Mr. W. B. Davenport, M.P., Lieut.-Colonel Dyott, M.P., Mr. Kinnerley, Mr. F. Elkington, Mr. E. Gem, Mr. J. D. Goodman, Mr. S. S. Lloyd, the Hon. and Rev. G. M. Yorke, and the Rev. J. D. W. Digby.

At a special meeting of the executive committee of the Manchester Conservative Working Men's Association last week, an expression of the views of the members of the association on the subject of the Church was unanimously adopted. The document gives twenty-one reasons against the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church.

THE PROSECUTION OF THE REV. W. J. E. BENNETT.

Yesterday was appointed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to hear the long pending appeal from the Court of Arches by the promoter, Mr. T. B. Sheppard, a parishioner of Frome, in the action against the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett. The defendant, the Vicar of Frome Selwood, was articulated against, under the Church Discipline Act, for maintaining, in certain published works, doctrines directly contrary to or repugnant to the articles and formularies of the Church, in relation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in a work, entitled, "Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833"; in an essay in a volume called "The Church and the World," edited by the Rev. O. Shipley; in a letter to Dr. Pusey, "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England," published in 1867; and in a subsequent edition of the letter, published in the following year. On the 23rd of June, 1870, the judge of the Court of Arches, who gave a long and very elaborate judgment, pronounced that the appellant had failed in sufficiently proving the articles, and dismissed the defendant from "the suit." The present appeal was from that decision, as also from two interlocutory decrees of the 3rd June, 1870, by which certain passages were struck out, and also from a decree made on the 16th June, 1870, whereby the judge declined to allow such passages to be reinstated.

On the present occasion the committee consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, Lord Romilly, Lord Justice James, Lord Justice Mellish, Sir J. Colville, Sir M. Smith, Sir J. Napier, and the Hon. M. Bernard. Such a strong board of the Privy Council has seldom been seen. Mr. A. T. Stephens, Q.C., Dr. Tristram, Mr. Archibald, and Mr. B. Shaw appeared as counsel in support of the appeal.

Mr. A. J. Stephens proceeded, when their lordships had taken their seats, to open the case on the part of Mr. Sheppard. There were thirty-four articles, a few of which were formal. Some had been struck out, and their lordships ruled that they were to be considered as restored. On another point the judges thought that Mr. Bennett had a right to alter his opinion in the third edition of his book. The learned counsel proceeded to discuss

the judgment of Sir Robert Phillimore when this case was before him in the Arches Court as to the authorities he quoted. He submitted that the phrase "bread and wine," as to the Real Presence, were not allowed by the formularies of the Church of England, and that the learned judge of the Arches Court was not justified in the manner in which he had discussed them. Mr. Stephens continued his address until the rising of the court, when the further hearing was adjourned till to-day.

CHURCH REFORM.—The *Rock* states that the Archbishop of Canterbury has requested the attendance of the bishops at Lambeth Palace, to consider a bill to be introduced into Parliament for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Ritual Commissioners, and to consider the subject of cathedral reform.

THE UNIVERSITY TESTS ACT.—It has been found expedient, in consequence of the passing of the University Tests Act, to amend various statutes respecting the duty of conforming to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and the statute prescribing the forms of admission to degrees at the University of Oxford, and a new form of statute has been promulgated in congregation to meet the case.

THE REV. J. W. BURGON AND THE BISHOP OF EXETER.—We learn from Oxford that Mr. Burgon has issued a fly-sheet, protesting against the appointment of "Bishop Temple, of Exeter," to be select preacher as "improper, and even scandalous." Bishop Temple lying "at this instant under the gravest ecclesiastical censure," and "his ecclesiastical position" being "anomalous and to himself discreditable in a very high degree."

BRADFORD AND THE DISESTABLISHMENT QUESTION.—At a recent Liberal meeting at Openshaw, Mr. Jacob Bright, referring to the disestablishment of the Church, said he was not sure whether, just as Birmingham procured reform for the people, and Manchester free trade, Bradford would not yet be found to obtain the disestablishment of the Church. If ever such a result should be achieved, he thought the public would have some difficulty in knowing to whom they would owe the measure, whether to Mr. Miall or to Mr. Forster.

ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS IN INDIA.—It appears from a Parliamentary return obtained on the motion of Mr. Miall that the total annual expenditure in India on account of ecclesiastical purposes is 21,08,221 rupees (about 210,822*l.*). Of this sum 16,47,269 rupees (164,726*l.*) is incurred in the Civil Department, and is distributed as follows:—To the Church of England, 15,02,739 rupees (150,273*l.*); the Church of Scotland, 1,07,704 rupees (10,770*l.*); and the Roman Catholic Church, 36,825 rupees (3,682*l.*). In the military department 1,97,559 rupees (19,755*l.*) is paid to Roman Catholic chaplains, and 22,798 rupees (2,279*l.*) to Presbyterian chaplains. There is also an expenditure upon ecclesiastical buildings of 2,40,595 rupees (24,059*l.*).

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.—The gathering at Manchester in the second week of December promises to be a strong demonstration of Nonconformist feeling and opinion. Although it cannot be expected that many deputations from the southern half of the island will find their way so far to the north, we are glad to hear that more than five hundred delegates have already been accredited to the conference. The Congregational Union committee sends four representatives, and all the towns where the question of denominational fees has been stirred have been prompt to appoint deputies who shall convey their impressions and resolves to the meeting. The Manchester committee offer to provide accommodation for delegates whose appointment may be notified to them before the 1st of December.—*English Independent.*

MR. GLADSTONE AND MR. WHALLEY.—The *Huntingdonshire News* publishes some correspondence which purports to have taken place between Mr. Whalley and Mr. Gladstone on the question whether the latter belongs to the Church of Rome. Mr. Gladstone says that this involves the question whether he is the basest creature in the kingdom which he has a share in ruling; and instant ejection from office would be the smallest of the punishments he would deserve. He adds:—"If I have said thus much upon the present subject, it has been out of personal respect to you. For I am entirely convinced that, while the question you put to me is in truth an insulting one, you have put it only from having failed to notice its true character; since I have observed during an experience of many years that, even when you undertake the most startling duties, you perform them in the gentlest and most considerate manner."

CURATES AND DISESTABLISHMENT.—The *Record* publishes a letter from a curate, who complains that he has been fourteen years in the Church, and yet has no chance of preferment. "Come what will (exclaims the curate), disestablishment or disendowment if necessary—away with a state of things injurious to religion and antagonistic to justice." Other curates, the writer says, are of his opinion, believing that if the Church were disestablished, brains would have a chance against family connection, influence, or purchase. The *Record* is horrified at these dreadful sentiments. They "savour more of the Communism of Paris, or the International Union, than of Evangelical Christianity." It is interesting to note—as perhaps explaining why curates are allowed to languish without preferment—that the same number of the *Record* contains an advertisement of an "advowson" for sale, worth 440*l.* a year, with

forty acres of glebe, "comfortable rectory house, situate in its own grounds, with convenient offices," and—most suggestive intimation—"the present incumbent is believed to be in his 79th year." This, we presume, is "Evangelical Christianity."—*Birmingham Post.*

THEOLOGICAL EXAMINATION AT OXFORD.—We are glad to record another step by the University of Oxford in the direction of educational freedom. The amendment introduced into the Final Examinations Statute on Saturday is a distinct concession to those members of the University who do not belong to the Church of England. It substitutes for the Thirty-nine Articles some one or more books of the Old or New Testament which have been specially studied, or some theological subject, such as one of the Creeds, or some passage in ecclesiastical history. Professor Liddon's objection to the amendment, that it makes the teaching of dogma optional, is a recommendation of it; although, as Professor Henry Smith stated, the question is not what shall be taught, but in what shall students be examined. Nonconformists, we imagine, will have no objection to be examined in a Biblical or historical subject, whereas they might have resented examination in the Articles. Professor Rawlinson's objection to the amendment is, however, the strongest argument which was attempted in its favour. He said that henceforth it would be impossible to distinguish between Churchmen and Dissenters. Can any consummation be more desirable? The object of the University reformers has been and still is to obliterate sectarian distinctions in University education. University reform will only be complete when the result which Professor Rawlinson deprecates is at last attained.—*Daily News.*

A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY FOR ENGLAND.—It is expected that a meeting of the English Roman Catholic prelates will take place in a few weeks, and one of the chief points which will engage the attention of the bishops will, it is said, be the question of establishing in England a Roman Catholic University, to which the twelve Roman Catholic colleges at present existing in England should be affiliated. Amongst the propositions in connection with this subject to be submitted to the hierarchical synod, one, it is said, will be the elimination from the curriculum to be in future adopted in the Roman Catholic colleges, as well as in the new University, of several of the old Greek and Latin authors' works at present used in our public schools and colleges, as well as in Roman Catholic establishments. It is thought also that the bishops will take into consideration the subject of elementary education. The London correspondent of the *Scotsman* says:—"It is well known that the highest Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authority looked coldly upon the attempts made to secure seats for Catholic members on the most important of these boards, and since then the language of Professor Huxley and Mr. Lacroix on more than one occasion has still further alienated the Catholic body. It is likely that a decision will be come to, to endeavour to hold themselves altogether aloof from the operation of the act, as from something in which they can have no part. It will involve immense efforts and pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the Catholic body, which, taken generally, is very poor." [We venture to predict that the Catholics neither of England nor Ireland will give up no claim they can advance for public money to carry out their ecclesiastical objects.]

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. A. Howson, formerly of Runcorn, has accepted an invitation to the pastorate of the Congregational church at Keswick.

The Rev. Robert Shepherd, of Great Grimsby, has accepted the call to the pastorate of Lairgate Chapel, Beverley, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Geo. Richards.

The Rev. Thomas Drew, of Shepton Mallet, Somerset, has resigned his charge of the congregational church in that town, having resolved to leave England for Virginia, in the United States.

The Rev. Colmer B. Symes, B.A., of Plymouth, has accepted an appointment to the pastoral charge of the Stow Memorial Church, Adelaide, South Australia, and will leave for the scene of his labours in the month of January. Mr. Symes preached his farewell sermon in Courtenay-street Chapel on Sunday week to a crowded congregation.

ANOTHER SPURGEON ORPHANAGE.—It has been publicly stated that the lady who some years ago called upon Mr. Spurgeon and presented him with 20,000*l.* to found an orphanage for boys, has turned up again, and offered Mr. Spurgeon a large sum with which to found an orphanage for girls.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—**MUNIFICENT GIFT.**—We understand that Miss Baxter, of Dundee, has just presented the society with a donation of 1,000*l.*, half of which is to be appropriated to the formation of the "Moffat Institution," for training native teachers for Africa, and the other half to be applied to the general purposes of the society.

CONGREGATIONAL MEMORIAL HALL.—The Committee of the Memorial Hall fund have now agreed on plans prepared by Mr. John Tarring, architect. The building will occupy a large frontage in Farringdon-street, part of the old Fleet Prison, and have access also by Fleet-lane. The elevation is a combination of the baronial with the Gothic peculiar to the period of the Ejection, and will have a very striking and imposing appearance. The cost

of the freehold was 28,000*l.*, and the hall and offices will not built for less.—*City Press.*

EAST LONDON CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The half-yearly meeting of this association, for prayer and conference, was held in Harley-street Chapel, Bow-road, on Tuesday, Nov. 21. Subject—"The Inter-relations of Congregational Churches, and the responsibilities arising therefrom." Introduced by the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A.; Thos. Scrutton, Esq., presided. The associated churches were well represented by pastors, deacons, and members.

ST. GILES.—The Rev. T. G. Headley, of Manor House, Petersham, with the view of providing three wants pointed out by the Bishop of London in his charge, viz., 1, shorter services; 2, different preaching; and 3, special churches—has intimated his intention to subscribe 1,000*l.* towards building a church in the vicinity of Seven Dials, and to conduct the mission service in it, without the aid of any endowment or pew-rent."

WIGAN.—The recognition of the Rev. Francis George Collier (late of Lancashire Independent College) took place at St. Paul's Chapel, Wigan, on Nov. 22, in the presence of a large congregation. The Rev. M. Hudson (Baptist) read the Scriptures and offered prayer. The Rev. H. W. Parkinson, of Rochdale, delivered an exposition of Congregational principles. A statement was made by the minister elect. The Rev. James Collier, of Dewsbury (father of the minister), offered the dedicatory prayer. The Rev. Professor Scott, LL.B., of Lancashire Independent College, gave the charge to the minister. The Rev. H. Wilson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, concluded the service with prayer. On Sunday, Nov. 26, the Rev. Professor Newth, of Lancashire Independent College, gave the charge to the church and congregation.

BAPTIST ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.—The annual meeting of the Baptist Association of Ireland were held in the church at Great Victoria-street, Belfast, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Nov. 14 and 15. The Rev. R. M. Henry, of Belfast, was re-elected president, and the Rev. D. E. Evans, of Dublin, was elected secretary. Two papers were read: one by Rev. W. Hamilton, of Carrickfergus, on "Living and Preaching in the Spirit"; the other by the Rev. W. S. Beyley, of Grange, on "Hindrances to the Spread of Baptist Principles in Ireland." The education question called forth much discussion, and resolutions in support of secular instruction were passed unanimously. On Wednesday evening the meetings were brought to a conclusion with a tea and public gathering. Addresses were delivered by Revs. T. Barry, of Athlone; S. Banks, of Banbridge; D. E. Evans, of Dublin, and others.

SHIRLEY.—On Tuesday evening last, the Rev. Richard Green, of Shipley, the newly-chosen pastor of the church and congregation meeting in the Townhead-street Chapel, was publicly recognised. At five o'clock tea was provided in the schoolroom, to which a goodly number sat down. A well-attended public meeting was afterwards held in the chapel, over which the Rev. C. Lacroix presided. Prayer having been offered by the Rev. J. M. Stephens, B.A., the chairman briefly introduced the Rev. Richard Green, who thanked the ministerial brethren present for their attendance. He said it would be his object so to live and act that that confidence should continue and be increased. The Rev. Dr. Green, the Rev. Dr. Loxton, and the Rev. G. Barratt, welcomed Mrs. Green amongst them. Other addresses were afterwards delivered.

A MISSION WEEK IN LONDON.—On Sunday the Bishop of London opened a mission, which, in common with other parts of London, it is proposed to hold during the week preceding Advent in the rural deaneries of St. Pancras and St. George's, Bloomsbury. At St. Pancras Church there was full morning service, the bishop being the preacher; in the afternoon the Rev. Canon Thorold, the vicar, preached a special sermon to servants. On Wednesday morning, Christ Church, Albany-street; St. Stephen's, Camden-town; St. Mary's; St. Jude's, Holy Trinity, Haverstock-hill; Christ Church, Somers-town; St. Paul's, Camden-town; St. Mark's, Albert-road, and many other churches, were opened at various times during the day. The mission embraces fifteen parishes, and a population of about 160,000. The prayers to be used during the mission will be those contained in the Prayer-book, and the usual ceremonial of the Church will be followed. There will be mid-day and evening services. The mission will close on December 4.

THE MASSES OF LONDON AND THE GOSPEL.—On Monday evening the monthly conference of the Open-air Mission, held at 5, Red Lion-square, was devoted to the consideration of the masses of London, and how to bring the Gospel to bear more effectively on them. Mr. Robert Baxter, a member of the committee, presided, and an opening paper was read by the Rev. J. Thain Davidson, of Islington. The meeting was further addressed by Mr. W. J. Lewis, of the Spitalfields Gospel Mission; Mr. G. Vigon, of the Whitecross-street Mission; Mr. Rennie, one of the superintendents of the London City Mission; Mr. T. J. Burnard, of the East-end Juvenile Mission; and the Rev. H. Grattan Guinness. The most prominent sentiment was that there must be more individual effort put forth by Christians generally, and that that effort must be accompanied by more heartfelt sympathy for the people. As a practical conclusion of the meeting upwards of twenty of the preachers afterwards went out in a body to hold short services in the neighbouring streets.

YORK.—The Rev. J. Hunter, late of Springhill College, Birmingham, who has been appointed suc-

cessor of the Rev. James Parsons, was on Friday recognised as the pastor of Salem Chapel, York, where his predecessor laboured for nearly fifty years. The Rev. J. Ward, B.A., of Cambridge, gave an introductory address, and Mr. Ald. Leeman, M.P., one of the deacons of the church, read a statement of the circumstances under which Mr. Hunter had become their pastor. Mr. Parsons then offered the dedicatory prayer, and the Rev. Dr. Simon, of Springhill College, formerly of Knottingley, preached to the congregation. In the afternoon there was a dinner at the Royal Station Hotel, at which Mr. Leeman presided. After an address for the new minister, the Rev. J. Parsons made some remarks, in which he stated he had attended the service of that day with no ordinary emotion, and uniting the memories of past times with the memories of that day, those emotions might be more touching and powerful than any with which that day has been associated. Before concluding he expressed a great desire for the prosperity of Salem Chapel and all connected with it. Addresses were also delivered by the Rev. Dr. Simon, the Rev. Mr. Stannard, the Rev. J. Griffith (the two latter being students at Springhill College, who bore testimony to the high character and abilities of Mr. Hunter), the Rev. T. Dearlove (Primitive Methodist), and the Rev. G. Illingworth.

LEICESTER.—The anniversary services in connection with Gallowtree-gate Chapel were held last week. On Sunday last sermons were preached by the pastor, the Rev. A. Mackennal, B.A., the collections amounting to the sum of 28*l.* 19*s.* On Wednesday evening a congregational tea-meeting was held, and afterwards a public meeting. The Rev. A. Mackennal presided. Reviewing the work of the past year, he remarked that it had been of an encouraging character, stimulating each and all to increased activity and devotion to the cause of Christ in their midst and in the world. The Secretary (Mr. G. Anderson) presented his report of the proceedings of the various societies connected with the place and operations during the year. The treasurer (Mr. G. Baines) presented a financial statement, from which it appeared that a sum of about 800*l.* had been raised for the various objects and societies connected with the church and congregation. He then called attention to the debt of 500*l.* remaining on the chapel, and earnestly suggested the desirability of an effort being made to clear it off; intimating that if it were taken up he could announce the names of eight gentlemen who had promised 25*l.* each towards accomplishing the object. The suggestion was readily taken up; two other friends following with the like sum, and as one after another voluntarily sent in their names for various sums, the amount promised reached nearly 430*l.* As several members of the congregation were absent, it is fully expected that the whole amount will be cleared off at once. All present appeared thoroughly gratified with the harmonious proceedings, and especially that the incubus of the debt promised to be so speedily removed.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS' CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.—On Monday, November 20, a meeting of the contributors to the Waddington Testimonial was held in the hall of the Pilgrim Fathers' Church, Buckenham-road, New Kent-road, Mr. Morley, M.P., in the chair, to receive a report from the committee as to the state of the fund, and to present to Dr. Waddington a testimonial, consisting of an annuity for life of 25*l.*, and a gift of 500*l.* A hymn having been sung and prayer offered by the Rev. R. D. Wilson, the Rev. T. Binney read a statement respecting the amalgamation of the Congregational Church, Devereux-street, and the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers, Southwark, and the steps taken to raise a suitable testimonial to Dr. Waddington for his long-continued and self-sacrificing labours in promoting the erection of the last-mentioned church. It was stated that as these two objects would require about 800*l.*, Mr. Morley had expressed his willingness to withdraw his personal claim of 500*l.* advanced as a loan for the erection of the church, and also to contribute 400*l.* towards the proposed annuity and gift, on condition that the London Chapel-building Society should relinquish their claim of 400*l.* lent in like manner, and that the balance of the sum required be at once raised. The society, on being applied to, agreed to relinquish one-half of their 500*l.*, and Mr. Morley had consented to accept that as meeting his conditional promise. This would leave a debt of 250*l.* to be assumed by the united church, which it was desired at once to liquidate. Mr. Binney stated that he had known much of the struggles and labours of Dr. Waddington in past years, and he highly appreciated his purpose and determination. Now that he was relieved from his stated pastoral duties, he would be able to devote himself to the work for which God had so peculiarly fitted him, and to enrich Congregational literature with the results of his historical studies. The chairman, in presenting the testimonial, expressed his high admiration of the persevering efforts of Dr. Waddington to accomplish his purpose in spite of the difficulties with which he was beset, and his hope that he would be long spared not only to pursue his literary labours, but to take part in the work of the ministry. Mr. Benjamin Scott also passed a warm eulogy on Dr. Waddington, and expressed the satisfaction which he felt at having been permitted to render him some assistance in his labours. The Revs. Dr. Dexter, of Boston, and P. J. Turquand and A. Buzacott, having spoken, the Rev. A. F. Barfield, the present pastor of the united church, alluded to the success which had attended

the recent amalgamation. At present, he said, the chapel services were well attended, and numbers were being added to the church. Dr. Waddington had most readily and kindly entered into the suggestion made for the amalgamation. Dr. Waddington suitably responded, expressing his deep gratitude for the testimonial presented to him, and for the assistance he had received from many friends in the prosecution of his labours. There is still a debt of about 100*l.*, and Mr. Binney suggested that it should be paid by the churches of the country. Before the meeting separated, several subscriptions were promised.

Correspondence.

THE PLYMOUTH ELECTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR.—The election at Plymouth has come and gone, and to the surprise of not a few, the borough must be added to the list of those which have wavered in allegiance to the Liberal party. Both candidates were men of the highest respectability, and each successful in his own profession. But at this point all resemblance between the two may be said to cease.

The Liberal candidate has been an active politician all his life; the Conservative, by his own confession, stood upon a political platform for the first time three weeks ago. One has served his borough as councillor, mayor, and alderman, always taking a prominent part in any public movement; the other has never left his counting-house until now for any public office whatsoever. One is a gentleman of high culture, wide reading, extended political experience, a forcible, clear, and eloquent speaker; the other acknowledges his ignorance of public affairs, is unable to give an opinion on any subject of political importance without having time to consider it, and is quite unequal to free and extempore speaking. In a word, one is a matured politician and practised speaker; the other "a political infant" in opinion and speech, who has yet to learn the A B C of his new position. Add to all this that Mr. Rooker has lived in Plymouth for thirty years, while Mr. Bates comes as a perfect stranger, and between two such candidates in a borough confessedly Liberal, for a seat held by a Liberal for twenty years, one might suppose that the choice of the town would certainly not be in favour of the Conservative. It is not the less true, however, that Mr. Bates was elected on Wednesday by a majority of 242.

The lesson of this defeat is of some importance and involves to Nonconformists issues of some moment. It is a note of war. The first skirmish has taken place between the outposts of two contending armies, which will speedily bring on a general engagement—and the attack comes from the side which has hitherto been wont to act only on the defensive.

Various causes have been assigned to account for the astounding fact that in a Liberal borough of more than four thousand voters, and in such a contest, the Liberal candidate only polled 1,513, against 2,065 recorded for Mr. Morrison in 1868. The unpopularity of the present Government, the discontent of the dock-yard men, the determined opposition of the licensed victuallers, have each and all been named as accounting for the result; and doubtless each contributed its share towards bringing it about. But all these are not sufficient—for, on the other hand, the working men and Nonconformists almost to a man voted with the Liberals. The belief is very general that the real cause of this shameful defeat was the unwillingness of Liberal (strange misnomer!) Churchmen to vote for a Dissenter—that they deserted their party to save the Church.

Mr. Rooker is by no means regarded as a Dissenter of an advanced type (that horror of mild Evangelicals); though a subscriber to the Liberation Society, he has never identified himself with its operations. He has contributed again and again towards the support of institutions under the patronage of Churchmen, and more than once towards the erection of Episcopalian churches and schools. He has steadily supported the Liberal candidates of former elections, Churchmen though they were, and it is allowed that he is eminently fitted to represent Plymouth in Parliament. But he is still a Dissenter—he goes to chapel and not to church—and so these Liberals are driven to desert their flag, and to accept as their representative a political negation as the newly elected member who will regularly vote against any question (with the one exception) which forms a part of their political creed.

Such a result involves issues of the gravest importance. If Mr. Rooker is to be denounced and rejected as a spoliator (as he was by placards in the town), an enemy, whose first and chief desire is to destroy the Church as speedily as possible,—if Liberal Churchmen of Plymouth refuse to vote for him, for whom will they vote who is not a Churchman? Is not this virtually to close the doors of the House of Commons to any man, however eligible, who is a Dissenter?

Ex uno disce omnes. With Mr. Miall's motion hanging like the sword of Damocles over the devoted Establishment, let no Dissenter, no advocate of dis-establishment, however mild, look for the support of Churchmen. We are no longer Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, but Conformists and Non-

conformists—Establishmentarians and Disestablishmentarians.

If this be so, what is the duty of Nonconformists?

Let it be remembered they have not brought about this issue. Dissenters have always loyally supported the Liberal candidates throughout the country without raising the question of their creed as Churchmen or Dissenters. It is the Church party that have thrown down the gauntlet—they have given the challenge. And there seem to be but two alternatives for us—either to submit to the re-imposition of political disabilities from which we had fondly dreamed that we were freed for ever, or to accept the challenge as boldly as it has been given, to abide by the issue raised, and henceforth to give our support to those only who will accept Mr. Miall's motion, or, failing to secure such candidates, to abstain from voting altogether.

The effect of this would probably be that at the next general election many, perhaps the majority of Nonconformists, would have to forego their privileges as citizens, and remain silent spectators of the defeat of the present Government. While deprecating such a result on many grounds, it would perhaps be felt by many to be the simplest solution of several very knotty points which at present seem to be in a hopeless state of entanglement.

If need be, such a policy must be maintained until the Liberal party have learned that there is one question which must be settled, before they can hope to return to power or maintain themselves when there—that an institution, which is a continued hindrance to political advancement, a stumbling-block in the way of religious equality, which seriously embarrasses every measure connected with national and unsectarian education, and is a fruitful source of weakness, strife, and heartburnings in the body politic, must be reformed—that the Church must be freed from the gaudy tinsel and cumbrous panoply of secular dignity, and politics relieved from the entanglements of a system which is too worldly to be wholly religious and too religious to be wholly of this world. Then we may hope to see all classes united in the steady advancement of the social and political, aye, and religious, welfare of the nation. Caesar will have to look only to the things that are Caesar's, and to God will be rendered that which belongs to God alone.

Yours truly,
FREDERIC E. ANTHONY.

Plymouth, Nov. 25, 1871.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—The Plymouth election has resulted in a victory for the so-called Conservative candidate, but is no evidence of a Conservative reaction. The Liberal party, I am assured, as a whole, was never so strong on the register as it is at this moment, and had the whole Liberal party voted for the Liberal candidate, his majority would have been at least 400. In 1868 the lowest Liberal majority was 556, but the Conservatives had then a candidate whom many Conservatives declined to support. Striking off 156 in consequence of this fact, there would still remain a reliable majority of 400. The Liberal position on the register has rather improved than otherwise since 1868. It has been ascertained that 230 electors who have hitherto been accounted Liberals voted for Mr. Bates, and that 370 Liberals abstained from voting.

The great majority of these were Liberal (?) Churchmen, who refused to sustain Mr. Rooker because he had declared that, had he been in Parliament, he would have felt it his duty to vote for Mr. Miall's motion for the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Episcopal Church. The Conservative candidate, too, pledged himself to vote for the *Ballot*, which was a sort of salvo to the consciences of these recreant Liberals, who either voted for the Conservative, or declined to vote for Mr. Rooker. The only things decided by the Plymouth election are—*first*, that a large majority of the Liberal electors of that town are in favour of Mr. Miall's motion; and *second*, that a sufficient number of Liberal (?) Churchmen are hostile to that motion to make it impossible to carry a Liberal candidate who is in its favour, unless indeed these Liberal Churchmen will waive their personal convictions in deference to the convictions of the great majority of their fellow Liberals. At the recent election they deliberately sacrificed their party allegiance to their antipathy to Mr. Miall's motion.

A grave question, of course, arises out of these facts. Has the time yet come that the friends of religious equality, in distinction from mere religious liberty, should hoist their standard, and insist that this sublime principle shall be an item in the creed of every candidate whom they support?

Mr. Rooker, holding this principle, was adopted by the Liberal party of Plymouth by a decisive majority over other proposed candidates, and yet these Liberal Churchmen refused to be bound by this election.

Their conduct is the more ungracious because for years past the Nonconformist Liberals of Plymouth have loyally supported candidates who have not come up to their own standard upon this great question. It seems, then, that all the concession and yielding are to come from the Nonconformist section of the Liberal party, and that Liberal Churchmen are never to concede anything.

Are we to submit to such an understanding as this?

In the case of Plymouth there was nothing like an effort to cram a Liberation Society candidate down the throats of the Liberal party. Mr. Rooker was adopted by ballot, and apparently the whole Liberal party was committed to him. No one expected that about 600 Liberal electors would prove unfaithful in the day of trial.

We, who know Mr. Rooker's eminent goodness, practical wisdom, great ability, and persuasive eloquence, congratulated the Liberals of Plymouth on the selection that they had made. There is not a man in the whole south-west of England better qualified for the position of M.P. for Plymouth than Mr. Rooker. He is a man of most Catholic spirit, and though he holds Liberation Society doctrines, has not appeared on a Liberation Society platform during nearly fifteen years' residence in this locality. Still, hundreds of Liberal Churchmen forsook him and their party at the poll.

Of course conduct like this must go far to disintegrate the so-called Liberal party. When the Ballot question is settled, it seems to me that there will remain chiefly (to use no stronger word) the principle of religious equality as the dividing question of political parties. A new party will come into being, having for its watchword the words of the Master Himself, "My Kingdom is not of this world." Certainly the Plymouth election will hasten the day of its birth. It will help to educate the people of this country up to the standard of Mr. Miall's motion.

So far as we can ascertain the Conservatives fought the battle fairly and honourably. There is no fault to be found either with them or their candidate, who, though new to political life, is a man of good character and high commercial standing.

Devonport.

JOHN STOCK.

THE LAND LAWS AND SITES FOR PLACES OF WORSHIP.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I am rejoiced to observe that the question of a Land Bill for England begins to assume shape, and to command thoughtful attention. Mr. Gladstone has done much for Ireland by his Land Bill in adjusting the rights between landlord and tenant, and in securing justice. The land question in England, in many respects, has yet to be settled. In the direction of landlord and tenant there may be less difficulty than in Ireland—things here having largely adjusted themselves. But as to the duties of landed proprietors to tenants, and those living on or near to their estates, in reference to freedom of religious worship, much yet requires to be done.

Many laws have been enacted from 43 Geo. III. to the present time, modifying considerably the Mortmain Laws, "giving power to persons having in their own right any estate, or interest in possession, reversion, or contingency in lands, to give or to sell land on which to build churches or chapels," but these facilities have been restricted to churches and chapels in which the services of the Church of England are performed. There are those, however, as true, as conscientious, as loyal as any Episcopalians, as ready to pay taxes to support the Government, and as devotedly attached to their Queen and country, though unwilling to worship in State Churches; and surely their rights and privileges, both in regard to God and conscience, ought to be considered by landed proprietors as truly as those who are State Churchmen.

I have heard with sincere satisfaction that a distinguished Nonconformist member of Parliament during the next session is likely to introduce a bill to afford greater facilities to landowners to give, to sell, and to lease sites on which to erect churches, chapels, schools, and houses for ministers' residences. To enable this to be accomplished, all who have any evidence likely to be of service in advancing such a measure should endeavour to make it public, so as to enlighten public opinion and to show the need of such legislation. It is with this view that I forward the case which follows:—

In the year 1835, or thereabout, there was granted, in a small market town in Gloucestershire, by a nobleman well known for his liberal principles, a site on which to erect a Union chapel for the common use of Baptists and Independents. He could only give this privilege, however, for his life, and his successor might have seized the property and turned the chapel, lecture-room, and vestry to his own use. Happily, the successor was as liberal as the original donor. He also has died; and his successor, desirous that the property should continue no longer contingent and liable to be seized, suggested that a portion of land for sale not belonging to him should be bought, as he had power to exchange land for land, but not of giving or selling it; and so the chapel became freehold. This has been done, and the property is at length secured.

The first nobleman would have given the site out-and-out, and so would his successor, had they been able, but the estate being entailed it could not be done. Surely it is time land should be so held, legally, as to enable its owners to do all in their power to forward the mental, moral, and spiritual interests of all around them!

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. MORTON BROWN.

Cheltenham, Nov. 22, 1871.

COMPETITION IN OUR VILLAGES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The editor of the *Sword and Trowel*, in the October number, page 475, appeals to his readers for subscriptions on behalf of what he calls the Baptist Country Mission. I think that the benevolent should understand something of the real state of this mission before they support it.

1. The object is said to be to enlighten dark villages, and Sutton Valence is one specially mentioned. Now the fact is, that at this place there is a flourishing Dissenting cause, and the Gospel has been preached here for seventy years, and the present pastor has been indefatigable in his exertions to do good in the village.

We are now raising funds for a new chapel, towards which we have raised nearly 1,300l. Now, considering the neighbourhood, we think it is not a true report to set forth this as a benighted village.

2. It should be mentioned, that in little villages the Dissenting churches are composed of Baptists and Independents, and that the difference between these two is so entirely neutralised as very rarely to be thought of. Now, if a Baptist interest be commenced, the probability is that the difference will be brought out with such a prominence as to split up the one cause, and to multiply small interests which cannot possibly be self-supporting. Now, is it desirable to support a movement that will be attended with such results?

3. Again, the "hall" at Sutton which is now "far too small," will with difficulty hold thirty persons. Probably the major part of those belong to the above congregation, and are persons who are pleased and attracted by novelty, and such as having no stability can never be the nucleus of a growing interest. Could not Mr. Spurgeon and his zealous band of young men find ample scope for their powers in some parts of the metropolis, or in country places where no other Dissenting church exists, or where already a Baptist cause is struggling for existence?

AN OBSERVER.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The Prince of Wales is seriously ill. Since the 13th inst. he has been suffering from feverish symptoms, which have proved to be the commencement of an attack of typhoid fever. His illness is believed to have arisen from cold, as His Royal Highness was driven a considerable distance in an open wagonette after a hard day's shooting at Norfolk Hall, a few days previous. Both Dr. Gull and Dr. Lowe are at Sandringham, attending the Prince, and they have been joined by Sir W. Jenner. The fever is severe. On Monday morning a bulletin was issued stating that His Royal Highness had passed a sleepless night. The course of the fever was marked by increasing intensity, but the Prince's strength did not fail. This was about 10 o'clock, and at seven in the evening another bulletin was to the effect that His Royal Highness had passed the day more tranquilly, and that no important change had taken place in the symptoms.

The festivities in connection with the anniversary of the birth of the Princess of Wales are indefinitely postponed. Her Royal Highness is said to be in a very anxious and excited state.

The Princess of Hesse and the Duke of Edinburgh are at Sandringham.

The children of the Prince of Wales and of the Princess Louise of Hesse on Monday arrived at Windsor, where the former will remain with Her Majesty until the Court removes to Osborne.

The Queen arrived from Balmoral at Windsor at nine o'clock on Saturday morning, accompanied by Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice. The *Court Circular* says that "although still weak and suffering from the effects of her late very severe illness, Her Majesty bore the journey well."

The Queen intends to visit the Prince at Sandringham to-day.

Sir R. P. Collier has been transferred from the Court of Common Pleas to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, where he will sit as one of the paid Judges. Mr. Montagu Bernard has also been appointed to the Judicial Committee.

Mr. Grove, Q.C., it is reported, has been appointed one of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas, in the room of Sir R. P. Collier.

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the loss of the *Megara* will consist of Lord Lawrence; Mr. Brewster, late Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Admiral Sir Michael Seymour; Sir F. Arrow, deputy-master of Trinity House; Mr. Rothery, Registrar of the Admiralty; and Mr. Thomas Chapman, F.R.S.

The Right Hon. John Bright has returned home to his residence, One Ash, Rochdale. The *Times* understands that Mr. Bright has no present intention of addressing his constituents. It is stated that the right hon. gentleman, while cordially disposed to support the Ministry, is reluctant to connect himself again with the responsibilities of office.

The *Halifax Guardian* reports that the health of Sir Francis Crossley, which has been for a long period in a critical state, has much improved, and that the hon. baronet is able to indulge in out-door exercise.

It is stated that, owing to Mr. Ruskin being an Oxford Professor, he cannot accept the honorary office of Rector of the University of St. Andrews, to which he has just been elected.

Mr. Roebuck is unwell, and will not address a public meeting at Sheffield on Thursday, as had been arranged.

Mr. W. J. Manning, controller of Her Majesty's Household, has informed Sir Charles Dilke that there is no foundation for his statement that Her Majesty does not pay income-tax. The tax has been paid by the Queen from the date of its first imposition to the present time.

The Home Secretary having received a memorial that he would cause proceedings to be taken against Mr. Gribble for imputing, at a public meeting, that the Queen is an habitual drunkard, has replied that there are certain calumnies which are best dealt with by leaving those who utter them to public contempt. This Mr. Bruce considers to be the best treatment for the above case. The Good Templars are having meetings at all their lodges to repudiate Mr. Gribble's conduct.

THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD.

The vexed questions in connection with the religious difficulty, which occupy the attention of so many school boards at the present time, were on Wednesday brought to a definite issue at the meeting of the Birmingham School Board, by the proposition of a series of resolutions, arriving at the introduction of compulsion to cause children to attend, not board schools (for none are yet ready), but public elementary schools. A proviso was added to the last resolution by which, as in London, it was to be understood "that the payment of fees was not to be made in respect of any instruction in denominational religious subjects." Mr. A. J. Elkington (Churchman) introduced the question, and moved the resolutions which had been entrusted to his care. The proposal was received with the most determined opposition by the officers of the Education League and members of the Nonconformist party who have seats on the board. It was urged that an agreement had been made on the discussion of the bye-laws that the question of compulsion should stand over till board schools were erected. Mr. George Dawson, M.A., while giving his opponents credit for honourable motives, said he was committed to work for the extinction of the denominational system, and he hoped its end was near at hand. In the course of the debate several lively "scenes" were enacted. The Catholic member, Canon O'Sullivan, upheld the alleged right of a poor parent to religious teaching, and was replied to by Mr. George Dawson, that the luxury of sectarian instruction would have to be enjoyed at the expense of the money of the "elect" alone. The Rev. R. W. Dale and other gentlemen took part in the debate, which was protracted to a late hour. On a division, the resolution of the Church party was carried by seven to six. On this decision the *Birmingham Daily Post* remarks:—

One member of the majority, Mr. S. S. Lloyd, who had given a voluntary pledge that he would observe this resolution, nevertheless voted to rescind it; and two others, the Rev. Dr. Wilkinson and Mr. John Gough, who had given similar pledges, remained neutral, and thus practically gave their support to the majority, for had they voted against rescinding the resolution, it must have been maintained. We do not undertake to explain these remarkable proceedings on the part of the gentlemen mentioned; we merely record them, and leave the public to form its own judgment. To complete the statement it should be added that the majority of the board has lately refused to accept the offer of several unsectarian schools, and that these are to be closed. Therefore, with a full knowledge that there is no possibility of choice, those who for months past have been urging the sacred right of the parent to choose the school have now resolved that, without any choice being allowed, children shall be forced to attend Church of England or Roman Catholic schools; and now they propose to complete their work by resolving that these schools shall be practically subsidised out of rates levied upon a population which consists mainly of Nonconformists.

On Thursday the board again met, and further resolutions were adopted with reference to issuing the necessary notices, requiring all parents to cause such of their children as were not less than five or more than thirteen years of age to attend school, unless there was some reasonable excuse for the contrary; appointing a committee for carrying out the compulsory clauses and the bye-laws generally, and nominating an officer or officers for appointment by the board, to visit the parents who did not comply with the notices, and to carry out the instructions of the committee. Very little discussion took place on these resolutions, but a motion instructing the committee to recommend the remission or the payment of fees in public elementary schools, on proof of urgent temporary need, caused a long debate. Mr. Elkington, who moved the adoption of the resolution, contended that it was not absolutely necessary, inasmuch as the board had power, under bye-law 7, to pay the fees if it was thought necessary to do so. Mr. R. W. Dale moved an amendment deferring the granting of powers. He said that Mr. Forster, who was very inaccurately supposed to represent the Liberals of the country, wherever it was possible for his influence to produce any effect had done all he could to make school boards adopt the policy of the Church party; but he had been unsuccessful, and no school board was compelled to pay fees to denominational schools. An attempt to carry out compulsion at the present time in Birmingham would render the peaceable government of the town impossible. Mr. George Dixon, M.P., asked the Church party whether it was worth while to excite that degree of irritation

in Birmingham which they had been told would result. There was a very strong disposition in the town to resent such an employment of the rates. It had been made a question of principle by the Nonconformists, and he advised the Church party not to press their propositions. The Rev. F. S. Dale (Churchman) took his stand on Mr. Forster's expression of opinion, that it would be unjust to refuse the parent the choice of a school. On a division, the amendment (which was seconded by Mr. Wright) was lost by a majority of one—six voting for and seven against, two remaining neutral. The original resolution was then carried, and the board are therefore permitted to carry out compulsion and payment of fees.

GREAT MEETING OF NONCONFORMISTS.

On Friday night the Birmingham Town Hall was filled to overflowing in response to an invitation to the Nonconformists of Birmingham to protest against the determination of the school board to force the children of the town into sectarian schools. Mr. J. S. Wright, chairman of the Birmingham Liberal Association, presided.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with loud applause, said he supposed it was well-known that he was a Dissenter. From his youth he had been a political Dissenter. He knew the term "political Dissenter" was generally used as one of reproach, but he rejoiced in it, for the same Gospel from which he learnt his Dissent led him also to use his political influence to obtain for all his fellow-citizens, as well as for himself, the removal of every inequality on account of religious belief. (Applause.) For some time past they had been tolerated, and they were expected to be thankful. (Laughter.) He was not thankful, and there could be no rest for him until there had been conceded to them, what he demanded as an inalienable right—perfect religious equality. (Applause.) He hoped it would not be long, and he believed the present generation would not pass away before the words "dissect" and "toleration" would become obsolete, or be used only in the past tense. When the time came—and it would be a happy day for England when it did come—it would be recorded that there was not a living man that had done so much to bring it about as Mr. Dale. (Loud and continued applause.)

Mr. R. W. DALE, who was received with enthusiastic cheering, then proceeded to deliver his lecture on "The Politics of Nonconformity," of which a report will be found on another page.

The Rev. H. W. CROSBY moved the following resolution, which he said was the practical application of the exposition and principles to which they had listened:—

I. That having regard to the facts (1) that sufficient school accommodation is not yet provided, while the school accommodation which exists is very unequally distributed; (2) that no board schools are yet erected to supply the deficiency; (3) that all offers to the board of the free use of unsectarian schools have been refused; (4) that denominational schools, avowedly maintained for sectarian purposes, and under a sectarian management, are the only schools within available reach of a large part of its population—this meeting expresses its emphatic and indignant condemnation of the decision of the majority of the school board (in contravention of the distinct pledges of some of its members), to force the children of Birmingham into sectarian schools, as placing great obstacles in the way of the ultimate establishment of a compulsory system of education and inflicting a flagrant outrage on the principles of religious liberty.

II. That this meeting regards the decision of the majority of the school board, to pay the fees of children attending denominational schools, as a revival of the principle of Church-rates in its most offensive form; and pledges itself to support the Central Nonconformist Committee in offering the most determined and unyielding resistance to the attempt to re-endow the Church of England, to subsidise the Roman Catholic Church out of the public funds, and to surrender the education of the people to the control of ecclesiastical organizations.

He wished to state one or two local facts. It was stated on the previous day that the question was one between those who wished to educate the poor children from the gutter and those who, in their bigotry, refused education, lest the children should enter Church schools. He wished to speak with indignation and emphasis upon the matter. Months ago, large schoolrooms, worth thousands of pounds, were offered to the school board for a few shillings a year. (Hear, hear.) The letters containing these offers were literally put into the waste-paper basket. The schools with which he was connected, value 7,000*l.*, and capable of accommodating 4,500 children, were offered, but no answer was returned to their letter for months. (Shame.) Why, then, did not the board say, "We will take these children out of the gutter"? They might have had the schoolrooms for weeks, months, or years—anything they wished, that would give a commencement to the board work. In offering the schools, they were anxious that the board might have the opportunity of commencing the education of the people. It was the same with regard to the Brookfields undenominational schools, valued at 2,000*l.*, which the ratepayers might have had at next to nothing; and yet gentlemen on the other side accused them of trying to stop the education of the people. He protested that such language as was used was a vile calumny on those who had worked in the cause of education. There was one other matter—it was, what were they to do? He trusted that the town council would feel that its honour was involved. (Cheers.) The town council of Sunderland had refused to collect the school rates, as they considered the application of public money to sectarian uses was a violation of the common liberties of the subject. Would the town council of Birmingham refuse to do so, and thereby justify the liberties of the people? If, however, the town council should have a *mandamus* from the Queen's Bench to force a rate upon the town, he trusted there were at least a thousand people in it who would not pay the

rate. (Loud cheers.) They were not going to sit down nor to be beaten when religious liberty was involved. Things might change outside of them. The Church was teaching them a lesson in the matter. The Church must fall which dared attempt to grasp the education of the people; Governments might fall, but the education of the people should never be in the hands of priests. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. W. WALTERS seconded the resolution. He rejoiced to find that in Birmingham, as all over the country, Nonconformists were worthy sons of worthy sires: that they meant to maintain the liberties purchased by the sufferings of their forefathers, and to hand them down, consolidated and enlarged, to the generations that were to follow. (Cheers.)

The resolution was enthusiastically carried.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, who was hailed with loud and repeated cheers, proposed:—

That this meeting returns its hearty thanks to Mr. R. W. Dale, for the able and eloquent address he has just delivered, and at the same time records its appreciation of his invaluable services to the cause of religious freedom, and its gratification that Birmingham still numbers him among her citizens. (Cheers.)

He did not think that the chairman of the school board, in one of his fits of order—(laughter)—would rule that this was an abstract resolution, though he might object to it as involving unnecessary speaking, since it only raised a foregone conclusion. (Laughter and cheers.) He ventured to think that this great meeting put a seal of approval on the course which Mr. Dale and his colleagues had taken on the school board—(cheers)—and to strengthen them to continue their efforts—efforts which sometimes involved them in altercations not altogether agreeable. He was afraid he could not hope that even that meeting, great and influential as it was, would affect the further policy of the majority on the school board, for they had stated that they were prepared to disregard public opinion. And he thought it added a zest to the policy which they were pursuing that they were able to think that they, who had been so long in opposition to the religious and social opinions of the majority of their fellow-citizens, were now in a position to impose their will on those who, under any fair system of representation, would successfully reject their policy. He ventured to say they had not heard the last of this question yet. (Hear, hear.) In spite of Mr. Lloyd, the appeal went from the majority of the school board to the ratepayers. (Cheers.) Birmingham had always been a stronghold of religious liberty, a beacon to the whole country, and the people would be untrue to the traditions of the town, and false to its history, if they suffered any interference with the consciences of men, and allowed eight individuals, the creatures of an arbitrary and artificial vote, to use their power of a day to benefit the section of a sect to which they belonged, at the expense of a great and comprehensive scheme of national education, which the interests of the whole community imperatively demand. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. J. BROWN seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. DALE acknowledged the vote of thanks, and proposed a similar compliment to the chairman, the passing of which closed the proceedings.

OTHER SCHOOL BOARDS.

BEDDGELERT.—The school board of this town has resolved to adopt the compulsory clause, but not to pay fees to denominational schools. Wales is decidedly taking the lead in the matter of education.

SUNDERLAND.—On Monday night a public meeting, called by the Nonconformist party, was held in Sunderland for the purpose of confirming the decision of the town council of that borough in refusing to accept the precept of the school board on the ground that a portion of the money was to be devoted to the payment of fees in denominational schools. Alderman Gourley, junior member for the borough, presided, and there were 2,000 persons present. The proceedings were of the most disorderly description, and the sense of the meeting was taken in a scene of confusion unequalled in any public meeting held within the borough for the last thirty years. A large number of Catholics, apparently by preconcerted arrangement, occupied the middle of the hall, and opposed the speakers with a noise which drowned their voices. The chairman, in opening the proceedings, defended the action of the town council, on the ground that that body should be left free from theological controversy, and argued that the school board, instead of wasting time, as it had done, in discussing religious questions, should have proceeded to practical work, and provided education for the large numbers of children who stood in need of that inestimable blessing. He hoped the day was not far distant when the Parliament of this country would appropriate the waste lands, as was done in America, towards educational purposes, and thus free the ratepayers from a large amount of taxation. He went on to argue in favour of an unsectarian system of education, quoting the opinions of Archbishop Manning and the Bishop of Manchester, and referring to the success which had attended the system in Canada and the United States. He concluded by stating that the Nonconformists of the country would never rest satisfied until they had compelled the Imperial Parliament to change this obnoxious law. The following resolution was moved and seconded, amid great disorder:—

That this meeting cordially support the action of the town council in refusing to be a party to pay fees for sectarian education, and earnestly trusts it will abide by its decision.

An amendment was moved by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, amid a scene of intense excitement. On a vote being taken, the chairman declared the resolution carried. This decision was protested against, and in the confusion the gas was turned out, and the meeting dispersed.

DARLINGTON.—On Friday night a meeting of ratepayers took place at Darlington, to consider the question of the payment of denominational fees. There was a good attendance in the Mechanics' Hall. Amongst the speakers were, Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., the Rev. J. Haslam, the Rev. Anthony Holliday, the Rev. W. A. P. Johnman, the Rev. Henry Kendall, Mr. George Elwin, Mr. John Kane. The chair was taken by Charles Brooks, Esq. The following resolution and memorial were adopted:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the adoption of any educational policy which subsidises sectarian schools out of the local rates, is a flagrant species of concurrent endowment, damaging to the rights of conscience, fraught with peculiar danger to Ireland, and generally retrograde in its character.

That this meeting profoundly regrets that the Darlington School Board has adopted bye-laws sanctioning the payment of fees to denominational schools not under its control, and earnestly hopes that the board will reconsider the question and rescind such bye-laws.

STOKE-ON-TRENT.—Serious opposition to the payment of fees to denominational schools will be made in Stoke-on-Trent. It is stated that a Congregational minister, and one of the leading manufacturers of that town, have declared that they will treat the school-rate as a church-rate, and have their property seized rather than pay it, unless the board rescind their resolution to pay fees to denominational schools.

IRSWICH.—The school board of this town have, by a large majority, declined to pay fees in denominational schools.

NOTTINGHAM.—The school board of this borough has decided to remit the fees of poor children attending denominational schools. A protest was made by the Nonconformists present. New board schools are to be commenced at once.

DRIFIELD.—In this school board the code of regulations for the management of new schools has been under consideration. The regulation providing for reading the Scriptures in the school caused a good deal of discussion. The chairman said he did not object to a portion of the New Testament being read, provided that such reading should be without note or comment, but he would prefer the omission of the rule altogether; the schools were to be supported by rates paid by persons of all persuasions, and should be completely secular. Mr. Whitaker proposed that this regulation should stand, which was seconded by Mr. Wrangham. Mr. Bradshaw proposed as an amendment: "That provision should be made for the daily reading of a portion of the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment." Mr. Whitaker had no objection to take Mr. Bradshaw's amendment, which was then carried.

LEICESTER.—The school board had on Monday week a discussion on two propositions submitted to it by Dr. Haycroft and the chairman (the Rev. D. J. Vaughan). The former gentlemen argued in favour of the erection of schools capable of accommodating not fewer than 500 children or 250 infants; the latter gentleman advocating the propriety of considering the convenience and requirements of the surrounding population, and the nature and proximity of existing schools, in making the requisite provision for education. The amendment of the chairman was carried by a majority of one. Another resolution was moved, authorising the board to advertise for rooms suitable for schools, either for temporary or permanent use, on which the Rev. Canon Fry proposed, as an amendment, that advertisements should be issued, inviting offers of rooms for the exclusive use of the school. This the Rev. R. Harley understood to mean the exclusion of offer of rooms used in connection with Dissenting denominations, as Sunday-schools, which are unoccupied on the week-days, and he resented the proposal as an insult to Nonconformists; having in mind what Canon Fry had said in committee on the subject. The amendment was, however, withdrawn.—*Leicester Chronicle.*

LIVERPOOL.—At the meeting of the school board last week the chairman stated that the board had given the fourteen days' notice in twenty-one cases. That was the first step they had taken to put into operation their compulsory powers, and it was so effective that there was only one person they would have to proceed against. They were now paying for about 4,000 children. There is a deficiency of educational accommodation in the town for 22,445 children. The grants to industrial schools are at the rate of 1,600l. a year, and a speaker at the recent ratepayers' meeting estimated the amount which would ultimately be paid in Liverpool yearly to teach the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church at 16,000l.

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL BOARD received on Monday a return showing the amount which had been paid by its authority in school fees during six months. There had been 8,000 children on the school board books during that time, and the amount of fees paid was upwards of 723l. The Church of England schools received nearly 400l. of that amount, and the Roman Catholic schools 235l.

BIRKENHEAD.—An influential meeting was held at Birkenhead last week for the purpose of establishing a school board. A committee was appointed with this object. Birkenhead is the largest district in England that has not adopted the Education Act.

BRADFORD.—A meeting of the Bradford School Board was held on Friday, the Mayor presiding. With reference to the Congregational school at Great Horton, it was decided that it was not desi-

table at present to enter into any arrangement for its transfer to the board. A report of the Education Committee with respect to the management of schools, &c., was received and ordered to be printed. One of the regulations is to the effect that the Bible should be expounded by the principal teacher, and this to take place for fifteen minutes after the daily opening of the school, and that where religious observances take place they be subject to the same provisions as the reading of the Bible. Mr. Hanson suggested the desirableness of premises being rented for temporary schools, and the chairman thought if any member of the board knew of suitable premises which could be had for the purpose, they might acquaint the board with it.

SCHOOL BOARD VACANCIES.—Four or five school boards are inconvenienced by the loss of a member, whose place they are unable to fill. Croydon is two short, one of whom retired shortly after the formation of the board, and the other has permanently left the parish, but has not yet resigned his seat, for the simple reason that there is no way yet decided on by the department by which it can be refilled. In Wolverhampton there has been a vacancy for some time. A few evenings since there was a meeting of the Nonconformist committee on the subject, Alderman Bantock in the chair, at which it was decided to put forward Alderman Mander for the vacancy. It was remarked that Liberal Churchmen had expressed their astonishment that, considering that the Nonconformists numbered half the population of the town, but had only one real representative on the Board, Churchmen should be so selfish as to determine to supply the place of the one Nonconformist who had died by the return of yet another Churchman. Wesleyans who were present expressed their warmest sympathy with the effort to secure the return of Mr. Mander, as decidedly opposed to the action which the Rev. W. Hirst, the Wesleyan superintendent in the town, had taken in signing the requisition to Mr. James Walker, the Churchmen's candidate. The chairman said that no order had yet come from the central department authorising an election, but it might come at any moment. A resolution was adopted, memorialising the department not to sanction the bye-laws of the Wolverhampton board; and it was also determined that a public meeting should be held in Wolverhampton with the same object.

CROYDON.—The question of denominational school fees came before the school board of this town on Tuesday last week, the vicar, the Rev. J. G. Hodgson, in the chair. Dr. Lancaster, on behalf of a deputation, presented a memorial signed by 712 persons, strongly objecting to the payment of fees in denominational schools. The chairman then proposed a resolution in favour of the fees, which Dr. Rule seconded, *pro forma*. Mr. Maleson, in an able speech, moved an amendment for paying such fees only in schools provided by the board, which was seconded by the Rev. G. R. Roberts, and opposed by the Rev. E. H. Blyth and the chairman. Dr. Rule said that although he had an amendment on the paper in favour of the denominational principle, he should withdraw it, in consequence of the difficulty he experienced with regard to Rome. Father Davis objected to Dr. Rule's remarks, and after a protracted discussion the amendment was lost by 6 to 4. The Rev. Mr. Roberts then moved the following amendment:—

That the proposed bye-law is to be withdrawn, and that the board pass a resolution to the effect that the remission of payment of fees in elementary schools shall be made for twelve months, essentially on proof of urgent temporary need, each case being dealt with on its own merits, without prejudice to the principles involved on either side.

The chairman on reading it, said he had drawn up himself an amendment in almost the same terms. This amendment was unanimously adopted. In Croydon there are twenty-eight Church schools, four Roman Catholic, one Wesleyan, and six belonging to other denominations.

BERKHAMSTEAD.—At a public meeting in the Town Hall, Berkhamstead, on Monday evening, presided over by Lieut.-Colonel Sanderson, Mr. Osborn moved, Mr. Sills seconded, and Mr. G. Howell, of London, in an able address supported, the following resolution, carried with one dissentient, the parish clerk, who, with the curate, spoke against it:—

That the Elementary Education Act has failed to meet the educational requirements of the country, but has succeeded in provoking religious animosities, and placing increased difficulties in the way of a national system of education. And although the Act prohibits sectarian teaching in board-created schools, its machinery favours the election of boards with a sectarian bias, and gives power to such boards to discourage unsectarian schools and to subsidise sectarian schools largely out of the local rates, without any controlling power on the part of the board.

The following was, like the preceding resolution, moved and seconded by working men, and unanimously carried:—

That, as additional school accommodation will be necessary in this parish, in order to meet the requirements of the Elementary Education Act, this meeting considers it highly important that the British School (as agreed to by the Vestry) should be speedily transferred to the school board, and that the said board should be empowered to provide sufficient accommodation for all children between the ages of five and thirteen whose parents desire for them an unsectarian education, this meeting believing that such an education will be best secured in schools entirely free from denominational influences.

The Rev. E. Bartrum, head master of the Grammar-school, and Mr. H. Nash, members of the school board, the Rev. J. Lawton, and Mr. Read were present.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR, M.P., in connection with the correspondence between Earl Russell and Mr. Dixon, M.P., announces that as the Education

League still holds, and formally renews, what to him appears the meaningless distinction between unsectarian and secular education, he is, therefore compelled regretfully to withdraw from its membership.

THE EDUCATION QUESTION IN IRELAND.—The meetings, convened at the instance of Cardinal Cullen in the matter of education, have commenced in Ireland. Mr. Dease, M.P., has addressed an assembly at Maryborough, demanding an entire Roman Catholic system in primary, intermediate, and university education. A petition to the House of Lords in that sense is to be entrusted to Lord Portarlington. The counter-movement of the National League is to be represented by another meeting to be held in Dublin in a few days. The Home Rule and the denominational education parties are likely to join their political programmes. As already stated, representative bodies of the Congregationalists and Baptists in Ireland have, like the Presbyterians, adopted resolutions, declaring their continued approval of the national system of education.

DEATH OF MR. HENRY OVERTON WILLS.

(From the Bristol Mercury.)

It is with a regret which we are sure will be shared in by all classes throughout this city that we have to record the death of another old and valued citizen, Mr. Henry Overton Wills, the senior partner in the long-established and eminent firm of W. D. and H. O. Wills and Co., tobacco and snuff manufacturers, of Redcliff-street and Maryport-street. The sad event occurred on Thursday, at the private residence of the deceased, Hillside, Cotham, and the illness which preceded it only wore, we understand, an alarming character for about a week. Some three or more years ago it will be remembered Mr. Wills, when residing in Cotham Park, had a seizure which placed his life for a time in such imminent peril that his recovery was looked upon as all but impossible. Contrary to expectation, however, he rallied, and he has since appeared to have enjoyed a fair state of health. The insidious disease to which he ultimately succumbed (albuminuria) was, however, stealthily undermining his constitution. Science in his case was unavailing. Mr. Wills, who was in his 72nd year, suffered, as may be known to many of our readers, for a long time past from extreme deafness, but with that exception his faculties remained unimpaired. In the course of the few days preceding his death he was partially unconscious at times owing to the exhausting nature of his disease, but towards the end his pains subsided, and he was sensible and quite calm and resigned to the Divine will. For the last few years the deceased gentleman has taken no active part in the large and important business with which he was connected, but in earlier times he was amongst the most zealous and energetic of its conductors. Mr. H. O. Wills was at the time of his death a member of our local bench of magistrates, and in the course of his useful career he filled many important offices. He sat for some years as a member of the Municipal Council, of the Bristol Incorporation of the Poor, and as a director of the Bristol United Gaslight Company; and until he resigned the position a few years ago he was the chairman of the West Cornwall Railway Company. As a citizen he shrank not from fulfilling such duties in the civic economy as were put upon him, but perhaps the distinguishing trait in his character was his unostentatious benevolence and the princely munificence with which he helped forward the causes of education and religion. As a member of the Congregationalist body his chief efforts were naturally devoted to the interests of that branch of the Christian Church, and he and his family may be said to have been the mainstay of some of the chapels in the poorer districts of the city. His charity, was not, however, bounded by the walls of his own communion, but he was ready to contribute to any worthy cause that commended itself to his judgment. Probably there has rarely lived a man who more persistently aimed at doing good or whose actions were more constantly controlled by a sense of duty to his Maker and mankind.

LIBERATION MEETING AT ASHTON.

(By Electric Telegraph.)

Ashton-under-Tyne, Wednesday Morning.

Last night an attempt was made to upset a Liberation meeting at Ashton by issuing forged tickets to a gang of roughs. It was defeated, and the deputation for the society obtained a good hearing, but stones and crackers were thrown at them when leaving.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

The Corn Exchange to-day was thinly attended by millers, and the business transacted was of a trifling character, at about the rates current on Monday last. The supplies of English wheat were limited, but those from abroad were large. Trade was inactive, and prices were with difficulty maintained. Really choice barley was steady, but other qualities were slightly easier to purchase. Malt changed hands slowly on former terms. There were good supplies of oats, for which a cautious demand prevailed at previous quotations. Beans and peas were taken off to a small extent at recent values. The flour trade was quiet, but prices were without appreciable valuation.

ARRIVALS.				
English & Scotch	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.
Irish	570	170	50	—
Foreign	21,350	5,040	—	24,790
				1,300 str.
				2,700 bbls.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF NONCONFORMISTS.

In accordance with a resolution passed at a joint meeting of the Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham Nonconformist Committees, a general CONFERENCE OF NONCONFORMISTS will be held in MANCHESTER, on the 13th and 14th DECEMBER next, to consider "The Educational Policy of the Government, the general relations of Nonconformists to the Liberal Party, and the necessity of organising the political power of Nonconformists throughout the kingdom, for the promotion and defence of the principles of Religious Equality."

The Conference will be composed of [Delegates from Nonconformist Congregations, Delegates from Local Nonconformist Committees, Delegates from any Nonconformist Organisation, such as the Baptist Union, the Congregational Union, the Committee for Sufferings (Society of Friends), Delegates from Nonconformist Meetings called for the purpose of supporting the aims of the Conference, and individuals whose presence the Committee may deem desirable.

Names and addresses of Delegates and all other communications to be forwarded to Mr. Jameson, 63, Brown-street, Manchester.

As far as possible, accommodation will be provided for friends from a distance.

ALEX. THOMSON, M.A.	Hon. Secs. of
JOS. CORBETT,	Manchester Com.
R. W. DALE, M.A.	Hon. Secs. of
H. W. CROSSKEY, F.G.S.	Birmingham Com.
J. J. STITT, J.P.	Hon. Secs. of
WM. CROSFIELD, J.P.	Liverpool Com.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

In future the *Nonconformist* will be supplied, post free, at the reduced price of

ONE GUINEA PER ANNUM,

to all subscribers who order the paper direct from this office, and are willing to pay the amount in one sum in advance. Any friends who desire to avail themselves of this arrangement, are requested to forward their subscriptions now or at any time up to the 15th of January, 1872.

Those subscribers who prefer to remit half-yearly or quarterly will be supplied with the paper on the same terms as heretofore.

TO ADVERTISERS.

The Terms for Advertising in THE NONCONFORMIST are as follows:—

One Line	A Shilling.
Each additional Line	Sixpence.

There are, on an average, eight words in a line.

LEADER PAGE.

An extra charge of 2s. 6d. for every ten lines or under.

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Advertisers of all classes will find THE NONCONFORMIST a valuable Medium for their announcements.

THE NONCONFORMIST is registered for transmission abroad.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"C. Neville," and "Tonbridge."—Unavoidably deferred till next week.

* * We shall be much obliged to friends who will send us any reports of important discussions in the local school boards.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1871.

SUMMARY.

OUR readers will have seen with regret the accounts of the serious illness of the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness is prostrated by a severe attack of typhoid fever, contracted during his recent visit to Scarborough, and said to be the result of a poison generated by sewage. The fever has now lasted some sixteen days, and though the latest bulletins speak of the intensity of the symptoms having somewhat abated, there will for more than a week to come be grave cause for apprehension. The disease is accompanied with delirium, and is most exhausting to the vital powers. The youth and vigour of the Royal patient are in his favour, but his father fell a victim to typhoid fever just ten years ago, and there may be in the Heir Apparent some constitutional susceptibility which will increase the general anxiety as to the issue. He is in the hands of Sir H. Jenner, who has specially examined into this variety of fever, and will be visited to-day by his illustrious mother. In common with all her loyal subjects, we earnestly hope that the Queen's fears may soon be dissipated by the convalescence of the Heir Apparent.

It is stated in many quarters that the Government have finally, though somewhat reluctantly, decided to deal with the licensing question during the coming session, and that the measure agreed upon by the Cabinet will be introduced by the Prime Minister himself after the bills relative to the ballot and Scotch edu-

cation have been launched. Legislation on the liquor traffic has become a political necessity—the licensed victuallers having set on foot a powerful organisation, with the view of contesting "in the interests of the trade," every Parliamentary vacancy. The National Association, which holds a medium position between the two extremes, but insists on a recognition of the principle of local self-government by vesting the control of licences in elective boards of rate-payers, has held a two days' conference on the subject at the Adelphi during the past week, and has embodied the results in a bill to be introduced by Sir R. Anstruther, M.P. The association will, however, give every assistance to the Government in attempting a settlement of this important question by legislation. It will no doubt be a work of great difficulty, in consequence of the temptation to turn the subject to party account, and the great influence of the liquor interest; but as Mr. Hughes, M.P., says, the licensed victuallers should be met with a determined and steady front by men who would say, "Whether we retain our seats in the House of Commons or not, we are resolved not to rest until we remove this dreadful stain of drunkenness from the country."

As our other columns will show, some fierce contests have been going on during the week in several of the local school boards. At Birmingham the majority have decided, in violation of former engagements, to pay fees in denominational schools forthwith, and force the children of that town into sectarian schools. A majority of one only ratified this policy, which has been strongly condemned at a great meeting of Nonconformists in the Town Hall. One of the resolutions, passed with acclamation, pledged the meeting "to support the Central Nonconformist Committee in offering the most determined and unyielding resistance to the attempt to re-endow the Church of England, to subsidise the Roman Catholic Church out of the public funds, and to surrender the education of the people to the control of ecclesiastical organisations." The same spirit prevails in Sunderland in support of the resolution of the Town Council not to vote the rate demanded by the school board, as well as in other towns, where a determination not to pay rates levied for the benefit of denominational schools is rapidly spreading. The case of Stockport has been so often referred to as one in which the sectarian fees are insignificant in amount, that it may be worth while to state that in Liverpool the fees of 4,000, and in Manchester those of 8,000, children are now being paid by the local boards—nine-tenths of the sums going to the support of Church and Catholic schools.

A week's telegrams from France furnish very little news of general interest, and it is probable that nine out of ten newspaper readers have ceased to read the voluminous letters from Paris which still swell the columns of the daily press. It would seem that the talked-of "fusion" between the Legitimists and Orleanists was an unfounded report, that the Duc d'Aumale and Prince de Joinville are about to take their seats in the Legislature, and that President Thiers proposes to meet the demand for a dissolution of the National Assembly, shortly to meet again, by a plan for its partial renewal. If that statesman was bent on avoiding executions in connection with the late rebellion, he has been overruled by his colleagues or by the Permanent Commission. Yesterday morning Rossel, the clever young officer who went over to the Commune; Ferré, who had most to do with instigating the murder of the hostages, and the burning of the Parisian public buildings; and a private soldier, were shot at Satory in the presence of 3,000 troops. The Government will gain no credit or strength by these executions; still less by prolonging the hardships and miseries endured by the many thousands of presumed Communists who still remain in custody, and have been severely punished before being tried.

The German Parliament is still in session, and has passed by a very large majority a bill authorising the criminal prosecution of clergymen who abuse the pulpit by delivering "political sermons" and interfering at elections. This blow at clerical freedom or licence was instigated by the Bavarian Government, who find themselves greatly embarrassed by the fierce attacks of the Ultramontane priests, and the crusade carried on by the Romish bishops, one of whom declares that, after having vainly endeavoured to act in accord with Absolutism and with Constitutionalism, the ecclesiastical party would now ally itself with the masses—that is, the democratic party. The clericals throughout Germany seem to have no hope of winning over the Governments to their side. The Emperor William's strong language in reply to the address of the Catholic prelates has been supplemented by his speech on opening the Prussian Assembly on Monday, when His

Majesty announced that it was the intention of the Government to maintain the independence of the State, and at the same time to protect liberty of conscience.

The Belgians also are getting tired of the domination of the priest party, through the Cabinet of Baron d'Anethan. During the week there have been threatening demonstrations at Brussels against the Ministry in consequence of a scandalous appointment. M. de Decker, the new governor of Limbourg, who is the cause of this indignation, has been obliged to resign, but the strife between Liberalism and Ultramontanism has hardly abated. The Clericals stick to office, but their majority in the Chamber is by no means sure, and their resignation is so peremptorily demanded by public opinion that it can hardly be long delayed.

In Italy "the edifice is crowned." The King has at length opened the Parliament in Rome, the proper capital of the kingdom—some 500 deputies, the entire diplomatic body, and enthusiastic crowds, inside and out, "assisting" at the ceremony. The spectacle, with all that it suggested, must have been highly impressive, and Victor Emmanuel, albeit unused to the melting mood, almost broke down in the utterance of the words, "The work to which I have devoted my life is completed." The popular manifestations were ardent and general enough to impress the "prisoner of the Vatican"—a prisoner not by any act of the Government, but by his own stiff-necked obstinacy and the artifices of bad advisers. The Royal Speech was not unworthy of so august an occasion. "Now that Italy is constituted we must render her prosperous by restoring her finances." "The economical movement must be encouraged, scientific and technical education extended, and fresh means of communication and outlets for commerce provided." The advice contained in these sentences is sound and necessary, and will not be thrown away if, as the King says, the population is "giving proof of love of work." On the other hand, the Italians are urged to perfect their armaments, and for years there has been no regular budget, and a serious deficit in the revenue. Italy has yet to show whether she can turn to good account her completed unity. The proposed compromise with the Vatican was very coldly received, especially the hint that the ecclesiastical corporations should be spared; and the aspiration that Rome "would continue to be the peaceful and respected seat of the Pontificate" awakened no applauding response from the Chamber. The Pope has decided not to quit Rome, partly, perhaps, because the Italians would not object to be freed from the incubus, and partly, no doubt, because he has a well-grounded belief that, once having left, he would never be brought back again.

THE PLYMOUTH ELECTION.

OUR readers will find in our columns of correspondence two letters on the subject of the late election at Plymouth, to which we particularly beg their attention. Both of them, as their signatures will attest, are thoroughly trustworthy in the statement of facts which they contain, so far, at least, as it is dependent upon information derived from authentic sources, whether of personal observation or of scrupulous inquiry. The letters disclose to us a most important and significant change in the present condition and future prospects of the Liberal party in that borough. We are assured by one of the writers that it has been ascertained that 230 electors who have hitherto been accounted Liberals voted for Mr. Bates, and that 370 Liberals abstained from voting. "The great majority of these," we are told by the Rev. Dr. Stock, of Devonport, "were Liberal Churchmen, who refuse to sustain Mr. Rooker because he had declared that, had he been in Parliament, he would have felt it his duty to vote for Mr. Miall's motion for the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Episcopal Church." "The unpopularity of the present Government," writes our other correspondent, "the discontent of the dockyard men, the determined opposition of the licensed victuallers, have each and all been named as accounting for the result; and doubtless each contributed its share towards bringing it about. But all these were not sufficient—for, on the other hand, the working men and Nonconformists almost to a man voted with the Liberals." It seems, then, tolerably clear that the electoral conflict at Plymouth did, and probably in many other boroughs will, take the shape of a battle between the advocates and opponents of the Church Establishment—the precipitation of this result being due, not to the impetuosity of the former, but to the deliberate defection of the latter.

We are not so disposed as our correspondents appear to be to cast reproach upon those Church-

men who deem it expedient to quit the Liberal ranks, and either to abstain altogether from using their political power, or to pass over to the other side. This division of the Liberal strength, although it has come somewhat earlier than was anticipated, was sure to come at last. All that can be fairly said of it is that it is the outcome of a wide difference of principle between the two main sections of the Liberal army. Hitherto they have been able to march together, because nothing had occurred to test the fundamental principles by which each was actuated. The advanced section, not in Plymouth merely, but elsewhere, has long been the largest in point of numbers, or, at any rate, has become so since the passing of the Representation of the People Act. Either, therefore, the majority of the party was bound to submit to be held in check by the minority, or the minority would naturally declare that they had come to the end of their political programme, and would go no further with their former comrades. At Plymouth the Liberal Churchmen have thought fit to take the first decisive step towards the disintegration of the party. We confess we are not much surprised that they should have done so. If their example is largely followed in other constituencies, the issue will doubtless be one of great political gravity. Nevertheless, we cannot affect to sorrow for the event, which it required but little forecast to anticipate. The process by which it will be brought about was inevitable, and, happily, it was deferred until all that it was possible to do by means of a united Liberal party will have been accomplished before the two sections of it fall asunder.

The truth is that the portion of the Liberal constituencies variously denominated "moderates," "Whigs," or "Liberal Churchmen," although as highly conscientious in their political faith as the more advanced portion, maintained their ascendancy over their more decided associates, not in virtue of their numerical superiority, nor even of their higher social rank, but chiefly on account of the traditions they inherited, and of the anxiety of their associates to prevent a split if it could be avoided. Their political horizon has been all along bounded by an exceptional and immovable reservation. They were Liberal, as far as they could be without surrendering the political ascendancy of the Church to which they belonged. They set the greatest possible importance upon the preservation intact of their ecclesiastical caste. They remind us of those German advocates of universal peace who used to make one exception from their general creed, namely, the necessity of "war to the knife" for Schleswig-Holstein, unless it could be obtained by gentler means. "Equal political rights to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects," and "the removal of all civil disabilities on account of religion," were the electoral cries which they were quite willing to swell, so long as the supremacy of the Church of England was left unquestioned. It was impossible that this inconsistency could long maintain itself in the face of a serious challenge. It was equally impossible, we think, in the altered and altering spirit of the times, that the challenge should not have been given. Whatever may be the immediate consequences of the disruption that seemingly impends, we do not think that either section of the party has much reason to blame the other. But we are glad, on the whole, that the secession—if secession there is to be—has originated with those whose stand on behalf of the Church Establishment is logically irreconcilable with their Liberal principles, and whose departure from the ranks will leave those who remain free to adopt a political programme commensurate in its breadth with that of their own convictions and professions.

It will be said, no doubt, that the more forward section of the Liberals will be overpowered in the next great electoral contest, in consequence of this threatened secession of the moderates. We are not prepared to take this conclusion for granted, although we cannot conceal from ourselves that it is favoured by many probabilities. But if it should be so, and the worst apprehensions of the least sanguine of the party should be realised, they may solace themselves, at least, with this consideration, that it would have been as undesirable that progress should have been stayed by pretended union, as that it should have become unattainable for the present as the result of mutual separation. Nothing could have been more embarrassing to Nonconformists and to the large body outside their circle which is ready to act with the Nonconformists for the separation of Church and State, than to have found themselves perpetually restricted in their efforts by sectional divisions and internal incompatibilities. While again nothing will so effectually stimulate them to earnest action as their knowledge of the

fact that they have no secret opponents in their camp. Until now, their policy has been one of abstention; their successive conflicts have had regard only to mere outworks; they have been compelled to consult prudence rather than courage, and to refrain from appealing to those motives which stir up enthusiasm and inspire strength. And but for the educational policy of the Government, there might still have been something of the old reluctance to imperil party ties in order to press on the policy of Disestablishment. But if the Plymouth election is to be regarded as typical, the disintegration of the Liberal party will be owing even more to the new political position taken by the more moderate section of it, than to the distrust and resentment excited in the minds of the more advanced section by the action of the Education Department.

On both sides, therefore, there appears to be a conviction that the time is at hand when electoral unity and co-operation will become further impracticable, and, if so, we had better face the prospect as calmly as we are able. At present, we see no possibility of avoiding the issue to which we are challenged. We shall certainly not consent to have our voice on the question of Disestablishment stifled in the constituencies or in Parliament with a view to propitiate Liberal Churchmen. Nor is it likely we shall submit to the adverse action of the Education Department, without enforcing the broad claims to which we regard our countrymen and ourselves as justly entitled. The Church Establishment is the wedge of separation in both cases, and in both cases it is being driven home by Church influence. We accept without the least alarm the inevitable result. Since there is apparently no alternative, we shall offer no serious objection to win by losing.

MR. DALE ON "THE POLITICS OF NONCONFORMITY."

ON Friday last the Birmingham Town Hall was the scene of an incident of no small significance. Mr. E. W. Dale delivered a lecture on the "Politics of Nonconformity." This lecture was one of a series, for which the Central Nonconformist Committee have made arrangements. This is not the place to speak of the rare ability of the lecturer, nor of the enthusiasm with which his sentiments were received; we are now only concerned with it as a political incident.

It is difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the event. The speaker and those who surrounded and applauded him, were representative men. They had worked without stint in the election of 1868. They had welcomed Mr. Gladstone to power with a passionate enthusiasm and faith. They have never failed to acknowledge the great benefits which he has conferred upon the country. The lecturer expressed his undiminished admiration for the genius of the leader of the Liberal party, and his unshaken confidence in his integrity. But notwithstanding this, there was the utmost distrust of Mr. Gladstone's Government. Confidence has given place to suspicion, and enthusiasm to resentment. That great section of the Liberal party which has been loyal to the very core—which has spared no labour, shrunk from no sacrifice, and has been content with a very subordinate place in the Liberal organisation—feels compelled, by its very fidelity to principle, to withdraw its confidence from, and even to risk the overthrow, of that party which it did so much to create.

What has wrought this marvellous change? It is needless to remind our readers of the manner in which the Elementary Education Act was passed, or of the manner in which the department has worked that Act. It is impossible for any Government to override the most cherished convictions of its supporters, by the aid of its opponents, without exciting distrust and resentment. When a majority of the most earnest and independent Liberals feel constrained to vote against the Government which they were elected to sustain, we may rest assured that that Government has departed from the principles on which it came into existence. The apprehensions which the most clear-sighted entertained have been more than justified by the results. The attempts which have been made to pay fees in sectarian schools out of the rates have created extraordinary excitement; and the Education Department has fanned the flame by striving to coerce those school boards which have declined to adopt this course. The large increase which has been made in the annual grants to elementary schools will make them almost if not entirely independent of private subscriptions. Vast building grants have been made, the ground has been preoccupied, and no effort whatever has been made by the Department to ascertain that such schools are suitable to the wants of the

population. It is no exaggeration to say that not only in the rural districts, but in the small towns, there will absolutely be no choice of schools at all. The Education Department, instead of throwing its shield over Nonconformists, has scarcely attempted to conceal its sympathy with sectarianism. No man can doubt that this is a retrograde policy. If it had been avowed at the last general election, Mr. Disraeli might have met the new Parliament with perfect confidence. The principle on which the Irish Church question rested was broad enough to cover the education controversy. Such a policy may awaken the enthusiasm of the Conservatives, but it destroys the confidence of the Liberals.

Nor is it the Elementary Education Act only which is thus stirring up the Nonconformists. Growing out of it, and as a part of the same vicious principles, there looms the serious question of Irish education. The Roman Catholic prelates have spoken with a frankness which leaves us in no doubt as to their pretensions. They claim nothing less than the absolute control of the education of the Catholic population, and this of divine right. They require that with the secular education shall be blended everything that is distinctive of their creed; and that for such education the State shall pay. Never in modern times have the Romish priesthood spoken in such tones to British statesmen. It might be supposed that there could be but one answer to such pretensions, and that it would be given with unhesitating clearness. We have not abolished one Church in Ireland to set up another, and we have not given a vast compensation to Maynooth in order to establish nurseries to the Romish Church throughout the length and breadth of the land. But there is no concealing the fact that a deep-rooted distrust exists in the public mind on this very point. The mysterious utterances of Mr. Gladstone have excited this feeling, and the bold feelers which Mr. Chichester Fortescue has thrown out have deepened it. If Mr. Gladstone wishes to cleave the Liberal party to its very centre, and to unite his most heartiest supporters with his bitterest opponents, the Roman Catholic prelates place the instrument in his hands.

It is important that our readers should clearly see the grounds on which this conviction rests. Nonconformists have not been wanting in hearty efforts to redress the wrongs of the Roman Catholics. They threw the whole weight of their influence into the Irish Church controversy; and whatever injustice remains unredressed will find them ready and eager to remove it. But they will not betray their principles to Roman Catholics any more than to Protestants. They will present as decided a front to the unjust pretensions of the one, as they did to the unjust ascendancy of the other. This will not be done in the interests of Protestantism, but in the wider interests of mental, moral, and national independence. We have not yet arrived at that point which the Bavarian Minister declared they had reached in his country, "Shall the Government or the Church of Rome be master in the State?" But the first sign of weakness on the part of Mr. Gladstone would speedily bring us to the same crises. Can there be a doubt that Mr. Dale's earnest declaration—"Rather than concede demands like these, let the Liberal party be broken in pieces, and for ever destroyed"—will meet with such a response that no Minister can stand before it?

The position which Nonconformists have deliberately taken is altogether independent of the great question of the separation of the Church from the State. There was no affectation of concealment in the matter. The lecturer stated distinctly enough the goal toward which he was travelling. But the dissatisfaction which was expressed with Mr. Gladstone's Government did not arise from unreasoning impatience at the slowness with which it moved in that direction. Nonconformists accept the Premier's challenge. The momentum of public opinion to which he has appealed will carry him onward. We can wait—and we believe we shall not have to wait long—before the ripening convictions of the nation will settle the whole question. It is not of standing still, but of retrogression, that the Nonconformists complain. They can wait for the harvest to ripen, but they become impatient when the Government sows tares.

The warning which is thus emphatically given is not unnecessary. It is quite true that Nonconformists have often complained before, and have as often condoned the wrongs which they have suffered. The pages of the *Nonconformist* bear ample testimony to this weakness. They have been grateful for very small favours, and oblivious of great injuries. Public men have become incredulous as to their decision and firmness. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.* We live in other times; we have to do

with other men. We have caught something of that spirit of earnestness of which politicians complain so bitterly in Mr. Gladstone himself. The man who cannot read the signs of the times in the recent elections must be absolutely blind. The water which percolates through the sand in the smallest rills, if it be not arrested, will presently carry away the whole embankment.

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND REPUBLICANISM.

THE eminently practical character of the English mind was never more strikingly illustrated than in the controversies which have taken place since the delivery of Sir Charles Dilke's famous Newcastle lecture on "The Cost of the Crown." Before any considerable party in this country can be induced to commit itself to a such revolutionary change as that which would be involved in the establishment of a Republic, it is necessary to prove first that the time is ripe for the extinction of our ancient monarchy, and secondly that the people would derive a substantial benefit from the substitution of one form of Government for another. Even the majority of those who are theoretically prepared to advocate the superiority of republican over monarchical institutions are indisposed to put forward their abstract ideas in a practical form until it can be clearly shown that the vital questions which now press for settlement can be solved in no other way. What made the nation largely Republican in the far away period of the Commonwealth? Not philosophical disquisitions about the rights of man or logical objections to royalty *per se*, but the shameful usurpations of the monarch—his attempts to rule as an anointed king and to trample upon the co-ordinate powers of Parliament. It was real oppression which stirred the people of England to acts of overt rebellion—which led to the drama of the civil war, and to the glorious reign of the "uncrowned monarch," who, under the style of Lord High Protector, endeavoured to consolidate the liberties which he had struggled for on many a hard-fought field. No motives in the least corresponding with those which influenced the statesmen of the Commonwealth can have prompted the action of the politicians who now proclaim their hostility to the existence of monarchy in England. With them Republicanism is an idea—not necessarily an inglorious or an ignoble idea; but assuredly one which the average Briton is not prepared to accept without much better reasons for doing so than have yet been urged. There is no popular right which, so far as we can see, may not be secured without encroaching upon those constitutional functions which the Queen has exercised for so many years with honour to herself and with advantage to the country.

But, on the other hand, there is a great danger that the new agitation may divert into an unprofitable channel energies and abilities which might be usefully employed in the real service of the State. How to extend our liberties until all men are free and equal before the law—how to mitigate the rancour of sectarian strife and to do away with the dominance of one ecclesiastical party over another—how to diminish, if not to cure, those evils of pauperism, crime, and ignorance which fester in the body politic—these are practical questions which infinitely transcend in importance any discussion about the title or the income which should be given to the head of the State. To raise a controversy on this subject at the present time is to draw a red herring across the path of practical reform; and to give to reactionaries exactly the pretext they need for turning a deaf ear to the appeals and arguments of the friends of rational progress. Nothing will suit them so well as to make the popular party responsible for a cry which that party generally has never, in any way, countenanced, and to alarm the timid and the time-serving into the belief that it is only by resisting all change—even that which is the most salutary—that they can hope to save the monarchy, or to prevent it from being degraded into a contemptible nonentity. It is only by the wisdom and good sense of the great body of sound Liberals that we can hope to prevent the substance from being sacrificed to the shadow, and to make it manifest that what is wanted is reform, not revolution. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Odger, as free citizens of a free country, have of course a perfect right to take their own course. Mr. Bradlaugh may impeach the House of Brunswick as William Cobbett was accustomed to criticise the ungrammatical construction of the King's speeches; but the Liberal party may justly claim an equal right—that of leaving the orator of the Hall of Science to his own devices.

It is only doing Sir Charles Dilke common

justice to say that neither his political opinions, nor his mode of expressing them, ought to be confounded with those of a class of spouters who do not occupy his position as a representative of the people, or speak with his sense of responsibility. And it is only fair to admit, not only that his Newcastle speech was misreported, but that his remarks were far more of the nature of an attack upon Ministers than of one upon the Queen; for he made them primarily responsible for the sinecures which bring discredit upon the Court without adding one jot to the dignity of the Sovereign. But we demur altogether to the good taste or the expediency of mixing up two questions which have no natural connection with one another, and the simultaneous obtuseness of which begets the impression that what is desired is not the reform of the Royal Household, but its abolition—not the greater assimilation of Royalty to the people, but its actual supersession by Republican forms and institutions. The result of this has been an outburst of loyal feeling on the part of the nation—a manifestation of the public temper which has been singularly assisted by the sufferings of the Queen and the illness of the Prince of Wales. Thus, criticism has been doubly disarmed and sympathy doubly evoked—an issue not in itself to be deprecated, although the cause which has provoked these demonstrations is greatly to be deprecated, because it tends to strengthen the hands of the oligarchic party, which, by perpetually prating of its loyalty, tempts the weak and the compromising to rush into its arms as into a veritable ark of refuge.

The genius of the English people has ever led them to move slowly—to take one step in advance at a time, and not to attempt to walk in seven-league boots. This tendency to over-caution may have its drawbacks; but, at all events, it secures us against the evil of being thrust or frightened into a backward course. A step when once taken becomes irrevocable; and the very men who have been the most resolute in their desire to stand still have been again and again reconciled to the progress which they formerly resisted. This is, in fact, the history of Great Britain compressed into a sentence. Of what use, then, is it to ignore the experience of past times—the experience, indeed, of our own generation? If royalty is now put upon its trial a verdict of acquittal will be promptly returned; but there are laws, customs, privileges, institutions which, if they are deliberately arraigned at the bar of public opinion, will hardly pass through a similar ordeal without undergoing a great and beneficial change. Therefore do not let us sacrifice the imaginary for the real—the essence of good for benefits too shadowy to be realised.

THE PROPOSED BISHOP FOR MADAGASCAR.

It seems that the idea of appointing an episcopal bishop for Madagascar who will reside in or not far from the capital, so as to be near the court, is not yet abandoned, notwithstanding the opposition of the Church Missionary Society, and Earl Granville's drastic despatch on the subject. It is alleged that the Queen strongly inclines that way, and that the use of the Prayer-book is desired in Antananarivo. What truth there is in such interested reports will be seen from the following letter of the Prime Minister to the Rev. W. Ellis, which we are permitted to publish:—

(Translation of letter of the Prime Minister)
Antananarivo, July 4th, 1871.

Rev. Wm. Ellis.
Dear Friend,—I have received the letter which you wrote on the 9th of February last, but I could not answer it then for I was ill. Now, by God's blessing, I am perfectly well, and I have considered carefully your letter. Also the letter you wrote in April, 1870. Also the picture which you sent to the Queen, and the book to myself were received. And I answered your letter, conveying to you the thanks of the Queen, as well as my own; for we were pleased with the presents, as we knew that from good will and a desire to please us you had sent them.

The Queen also thanks you for your letter of the 9th of February last, for it is the desire of the Queen, as well as of myself, to promote the knowledge and prosperity of the people, that the kingdom of God may extend here in Madagascar. Therefore we, who form the congregation here within the precincts of the palace, have united in the purpose of the churches of the capital in sending forth preachers to the outlying villages, and have given our continued confidence to their teaching of the people, that they may know the great redemption accomplished by Jesus Christ. And the Queen constantly prays to God that He may assist her with the wisdom which cometh from above, that she may guide and guard the people under her rule, and that all the people may become enlightened.

I was pleased with your words which said (after speaking of Christ ruling in the Church) that God has given rulers to the nations on earth to exercise authority over things relating to this present world, and to be nursing fathers and nursing mothers, to protect and watch over the churches in this world; and, therefore, no foreign Sovereign, nor Pope, nor bishop, from any foreign country has any authority whatever over the

things relating to the spiritual condition of the people of Madagascar, nor any authority over them in things relating to their temporal condition, but Ranavalera only, because the sovereignty has been given to her by God, and by inheritance from her ancestors.

The Queen and we were glad when we heard that the Christians in England prayed to God that He would bless her, and the nobles, and the people of Madagascar; for God will hear their prayers, and ours, and show favour unto the Sovereign and the people, that we may become a nation wise and distinguished by the goodness of God to the people.

I have heard the report concerning a bishop to come to Madagascar; also a report that the Prayer-book is used within the precincts of the palace; also that the Queen desires that a bishop may come, and was disappointed when he did not come. These reports are not true, for the Prayer-book has never been used in the worship which the Queen attends. She was not at all disappointed because a bishop did not come. But the work which you, the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, have done here in Madagascar we indeed know, for a work of blessing to our country truly it has been, and you have never forsaken us from the very beginning unto the present time.

I have received the books which you sent me. I thank you, and may God bless you for sending me the books. I was also glad to hear that Mr. Toy has arrived safely in England, and I hope that he will return to Madagascar, for Mr. Toy is a good man. I love him, and many of the people love him.

The Queen is well and visits you. May you live! May the blessing of God be with you.

Saith your friend truly,

RAINILAIARIVONY.

SCOTLAND.

(From our own Correspondent.)

GLASGOW, November 27, 1871.

Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh has just witnessed a good confession in favour of voluntarism. The occasion of it was the centenary of Dr. Cairns's Church (U.P.), at Berwick-on-Tweed. "I was always a long man," he said, alluding to his stature, "but not always so broad as I am now," alluding to his expansion of views. In strongly urging union, he went on to say:—

There is nothing in the formula of my Church that binds me to hold the principle of endowments; and though the Government were to offer me endowments to-morrow, I would fling them in the face of the Government, and I would say, "I have learned to walk on my own feet, and am no more disposed to lean on your crutches"—knowing perfectly well from the whole history of the past that when I lost the power of walking and depended on your crutches you would knock them out from below me and lay me at your feet. To make a point of difference about this matter appears to me to be most unrighteous and unreasonable, because, unless the tide turns in a direction which nobody has any reason to expect, in the course of twenty or thirty years there will be no endowments to make any quarrel about at all. I believe I will congratulate the Churches of Christendom—Episcopalian and others—on the day when they get rid of their golden chains and maintain their liberty; and I believe that they will flourish all the better when they can say to others, not only "I wish that you were as free as me, save those bonds," but "that you were as free as me, and no bonds whatever."

A number of years ago, in an address as Moderator of the Free Church, Dr. Guthrie predicted the certain triumph of voluntarism in the rising generation, but in the name of poor human nature he resigned himself to the probable necessity, as an old man, of retaining his early Establishmentarian faith to the end. He said, "I drank it in with my mother's milk, and I am to carry it with me to the grave." He has been better than his word. He has served it with a hearty divorce, and he lives in the hope, which we cordially share, that he himself will be one of its pall-bearers, and help to lay it in its own grave.

The U.P. Elders' Association of Glasgow has resolved to raise 10,000*l.* for Evangelistic and Church extension purposes in the city. A local paper says:—

In addition to this important movement by the office-bearers of the U.P. Churches, we learn that, towards the end of this month, similar measures will be taken by the adherents of the Free Church, and that preparations are in progress for holding a great public meeting in the City Hall, and that, among others, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh, is expected to attend and take part in the proceedings, so that, by the united efforts of the Established Church, the U.P. Church, and the Free Church, a very considerable addition will soon be made to the church accommodation of Glasgow.

The Rectorial contests have now been decided; success being attained in each case by only small majorities. In Glasgow, Mr. Disraeli has triumphed over Mr. Ruskin, who, by way of compensation, has been successful at St. Andrew's over Lord Lytton; as Sir William Stirling has, at Edinburgh, over Sir Roundell Palmer. Mr. Disraeli's election is rather liked here, his politics notwithstanding, in the anticipation that he will let fall amongst us some sparkling and racy things. It has, besides, this feature of congruity (though seemingly little thought of in the contest) that he promptly accorded, when in office, a handsome Government grant to the new University buildings. Sir William Stirling Maxwell has every quality (except his politics) to entitle him to the honour he has gained. Four years ago he presided at Mr. Disraeli's banquet in Edinburgh, for which, at the next elec-

tion, he paid the penalty of his seat; and now, within one week, he and Mr. Disraeli have been raised by our two chief Universities to the same rectorial honours.

While the elements of strife, so thick strewn by Mr. Forster in the English Education Bill, are fermenting with such activity all over England, there are ominous signs that Scotland will find herself before many months in quite as perplexing an imbroglio. The sister kingdoms will have need, while helping us to get our own, to keep, the while, a sharp eye on us lest we act to the detriment of imperial interests. Our bill, coming second, and at a central crisis, has an importance more than merely Scotch, for its main principle will greatly determine the case for Ireland, and may considerably affect for good or evil the still pending questions in England. If we get for our northern kingdom a thoroughly undenominational bill, it will make short work of the intolerant and intolerable demands of the Romish hierarchy in Ireland—against which Irish Episcopalians as well as Presbyterians are now up in arms—and it will be a plea and a pledge for tearing up the denominational "root of bitterness" which has been left to cumber the question in England. I regret to say that though there is a mass of ripe sentiment in Scotland, headed by all the journals of any influence north of the Tweed, and though it is hoped that the United Presbyterians, as volunteers, will be found equal to the emergency, and though, still further, there is a high tide of advancing sentiment in the Free Church, there is little as yet to encourage the hope that the two larger Presbyterian bodies will relinquish their pig-headed adherence to "Scottish use and wont," and take on this question the attitude incumbent on them both as patriots and as Protestants.

An excellent opportunity for so doing occurred recently, but it was "vilely cast away." The commissions of the Established and Free Church Assemblies met in Edinburgh on the same day on the 15th of this month, and both passed resolutions on the pending question of national education for Ireland. The Established Church Commission, as was to be expected, stuck to the old colours, which they have loyally nailed to the mast of their foundering ship, the only remonstrant voice being that of Mr. Story, of Roseneath, whose amendment, for want of a seconder, fell to the ground. In the Free Church the two parties of Conservatism and Advance encountered each other as usual, the former grimly resolute in their old citadel of "use and wont"—the latter timid and trimming, and merely reserving for themselves room to change their ground. Mr. Nixon, the Conservative leader, made short work of the Catholic complication. The Catholics were to be resisted because they were wrong, and Presbyterian denominationalism demanded because it was right. The Shorter Catechism was perfect, the Throne was Protestant, and unless this entered as a vital and pervading element into our educational legislation, down went Church, Sabbath, Throne, and all. Professor Rainy, the Liberal leader, had an admirable opportunity of pitting against this the clear and impregnable position taken by the Presbyterians in Ireland, and by urging this both as a political right and as the sole defence against Catholic domination, he would have found ample response from the Liberal sentiment of his own Church. Instead of striking this key-note, his trumpet gave forth an uncertain sound. His very preamble was symptomatic. He said the motion he was about to propose had originally been constructed so as to refer to a number of topics connected with this question, but seeing the line the discussion had taken, he thought it wiser to confine the motion pretty much to certain matters which he named. His motion was long and lumbering, and, after all, came to much the same thing as Mr. Nixon's. By way of a sop to Cerberus, it protested against any legislative exclusion of the catechism; but as a loophole for the future, it closed with the following paragraph, which virtually predicted, and thereby invited, the exclusion of the catechism:—

Finally, in view of the claims recently advanced in connection with national education in Ireland by the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, the commission cannot conceal from themselves that the educational arrangements adopted for Scotland may bear on the interests of Protestantism in other parts of the kingdom; they therefore recommend to the Assembly's deputation to have this in view in their dealings with Parliament and Government on the matter of education.

This piece of self-stultification was too much, even for the Liberal party, to let pass. Professor McGregor urged that it should be struck out, which was done, thereby reducing the motion very much to that which it professed to oppose. "It is a wonderful tribute," remarks a local paper, "to the influence of the leaders that they should have found 105 followers to each of these ridiculous timidities against 92 who voted with Mr. Nixon." The opposite party were evidently amused. Dr. Begg admitted that Dr. Rainy's motion "had been well braced up" and greatly improved by the omission of the last clause, though inferior in honest vigour to the one it opposed. That omitted clause, however, indicates the policy that will, in the last resort, be accepted by the Liberal majority of the Free Church. How much better had Dr. Rainy at once and boldly avowed it, and frankly accepted the inevitable! He will get small thanks, we believe, for that lame and impotent resolution, from many of the Liberal ministers, not to say laymen, of his own Church.

The educational discussion in Scotland is only beginning. A Scottish Educational Association has just been constituted at Edinburgh to secure "due

provision for religious instruction of the young in public," under the old flag of "use and wont." Another and more potential organisation is in course of formation in Glasgow, in the shape of an Educational League for Scotland, analogous to those in the sister kingdoms, to secure a thoroughly undenominational system of education. This will have in its councils some of the foremost of our University men, and bids fair to do yeoman service in the approaching campaign.

A movement has been commenced in Edinburgh for the restoration of St. Giles' Cathedral, by clearing out its galleries, improving its choir, and otherwise making it as nearly as possible resemble the Glasgow Cathedral. Mr. William Chambers presided; and as the place is one of memorable historical interest, the project is likely to meet with public favour.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

PLYMOUTH.

The election for the vacancy caused by the elevation of Sir R. P. Collier to the bench, took place on Wednesday. It will be remembered that at the nomination on the preceding day Mr. Bates had the show of hands in his favour. This was confirmed at the poll. The poll fluctuated during the day, and there was much excitement throughout the town. At the close the numbers were—

For Mr. Bates	1753
For Mr. Rooker	1511

Majority for Bates ... 242

An immense crowd assembled around the hustings at the declaration of the poll the same evening by the Mayor. Mr. Bates spoke a few words, stating that he should be the representative of the whole town, and advising his friends to preserve order and to go home quietly.

Mr. Rooker, on coming forward to speak, was greeted with such a storm of groans and hisses that not a single word he uttered was heard four feet from him, and it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable that the reporters, who stood immediately underneath him, were able to catch his remarks. He was understood to say:—

Gentlemen, I am, I know, defeated, but I am not discouraged at the result of this election. I have been too long connected with the Liberal party in Plymouth to believe for a moment that it will be seriously affected by this one single defeat. There are circumstances connected with this election which may entirely account for what seems to me to have been so unlikely. I am here to-day not as your representative, but I am here, as I believe, representing the opinions and principles which have in the past, which are in the present, and which I am well assured will in the future, be the dominant principles, not only in this borough, but throughout this great community. (Cheers.) Of this I am sure, that in this country there must be constant change and constant improvement, and that the party of progress will be represented—it may not be in this Parliament; it may not be by the gentleman whom you have chosen to-day as your representative—but it will be by honourable men in days and in years to come. I thank from my heart the great body of Liberal electors who have rallied around me, who have expressed their opinions so emphatically, who have so heartily assisted me, and who have done what they could to return me as their representative in Parliament; and, if I feel regret at all, it is for those members of the Liberal party who have so far forgotten their principles—(loud cheers)—and the great imperial interests that are at stake in the country—principles in which, I am convinced, they still believe in their hearts—as to allow to predominate those principles which they know to be inconsistent with the well-being of the country, however consistent they may seem at the present time with their own peculiar or personal feeling. (Hear, hear.) When I look around me I think there have been other considerations which have influenced the election, which in some degree have effected the result, and which are unworthy of this constituency. (Cheers.) Again I thank you heartily for the support you have given me, and I feel perfectly confident that what has been done to-day will before long be entirely reversed, and that you will soon have the satisfaction of again seeing Plymouth take its place in the councils of the nation, as—undoubtedly it is—a great Liberal constituency. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Rooker and Mr. Bates then heartily shook hands with each other, a cordial vote of thanks was given to the mayor, both member and candidate bearing testimony to his strict impartiality, and the proceedings were thus brought to a termination.

After the declaration of the poll the Liberals assembled in very large numbers at the Mechanics' Institute, when Mr. Rooker addressed a few words to those present. He again thanked them from his heart for what they had done, and he was sure that the memory of the past fortnight would be very deeply engraven in his regard. He could not say that the defeat was not in some degree painful, but that was in a great degree overcome by the warm, earnest sympathy, and by the kind words which had been showered upon him by his supporters. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. N. BENNETT said that many of the Liberal party had objected to Mr. Rooker on the ground that he was a Dissenter. But were they to refuse a man because he was a Dissenter? ("No.") For the last thirty or forty years Mr. Rooker had been of great good to them. The only difference which now existed in this country between Churchmen and Dissenters was that Churchmen belonged to a Church supported by the State—which was a mere secular tie—and the rest was on their own footing. They knew perfectly well that great conflicts had taken place in other countries between Churchmen

and Dissenters on the question of Church and State, which question had defeated Mr. Rooker. (Hear, hear.) The feelings between the two parties had created all manner of mischief, envy, hatred, and uncharitableness. Whenever a law is passed separating the connection between Church and State, they, in this country, could go across the Atlantic and Pacific, and say they had now abolished what was the cause of vast mischief and discontent amongst them. The separation between Church and State, he believed, would be to the benefit of the Church for the grand cause of Christianity, and he was persuaded that it would tend to the advancement of the great cause of goodwill and harmony. (Applause.) They might forgive, but in his opinion they would long remember what had been done that day—(Hear, hear)—by false Liberals, who had held back to the extent of some 400 voters, who had not come to the poll at all, and allowed the events of the day to pass unnoticed. ("Shame.") He concluded by moving—

That this meeting unanimously resolves to give its hearty thanks to Mr. Rooker, not only for what he has done to-day, but in Plymouth for the last thirty years. (Great cheering.)

Mr. A. HUBBARD seconded the resolution, but would add "that their confidence in Mr. Rooker was the same as ever." (Loud applause.) They had learnt a lesson that day: they had learnt who were their friends and who were not. (Renewed cheering.) It was not their opponents who had beaten them—(applause)—but their defeat had been caused by the false Liberals. (Cheers.) They were not discouraged, but would go on, and, if they could not return a better man, propose Mr. Rooker again. (Renewed cheering.) It was only for a time, for they would soon have to fight another battle. (Hear, hear.) Were they going to be discouraged?—"No, no!"—and were they going to say, because they were beaten now, they would not fight again? ("No, no!") Did they hold back because the Church was in danger? or was it on account of the money? Just as the Church was about to lose the money, a cry went up "the Church is in danger." Would they call those who had held back Liberals? ("No, no!") The party would go on in spite of all the obstructions, and their cause must prevail.

After some other speeches the resolution was carried by acclamation.

The *Western Daily Mercury* remarks:—"By a majority of 242 Mr. Edward Bates, the largest shipowner in the world, was returned yesterday to represent Plymouth in the Commons House of Parliament in succession to Sir Robert Porett Collier. This success of the Conservative candidate, and the defeat of the well-known Liberal townsman, Mr. Alfred Rooker, will take many by surprise, as Plymouth has been for so many years recognised as a thoroughly Liberal borough. The result, however, is not due to any Conservative reaction. It is due simply to the apathy and discontent of the Liberals. Whilst all the Liberals were not united over their candidate the Conservatives were united as one man, and were joined by the publicans, who put forth their whole strength. To this is probably to be attributed the fact that this contest was characterised by more drunkenness than was observable in previous contests. The stores of an ex-Liberal ale and porter merchant were kept as an 'open house,' and his example was followed by several publicans."

The *Devonport Independent* says that Liberal Churchmen withheld their votes for Mr. Rooker because he approved of disestablishment and undertook to vote for it. Not only did they not support Mr. Rooker, but some of them turned round and worked and voted for the other side.

In a layman this is bad enough; but in a minister of the Church it is very much worse. It is certainly not inspiring to the man of common sense and tolerant sentiments, to find that clergymen, whose whole duty consists in teaching, and as it ought to be in exemplifying the great Christian virtues of unselfishness and rectitude of principle, can upon a question which personally affects their pockets, and which, after all, is only one of fairness to fellow Christians, utterly forsake their principles and work heart and soul against them for selfish ends. That is the truth, and nothing but the truth, however unpalatable it may be to those whom it strikes. One vicar in Plymouth—not an old inhabitant, and not yet, as events have showed, fully known—made himself very conspicuous in this way, though professing to be a Liberal nature. In most of the local churches, too, on Sunday sermons were preached in behalf of the Church Defence Association, and of course this particular time was selected for the advocacy of the institution because an influence should be brought to bear upon the election. Well, for the present, this section of the Church, for we are glad to say that all Churchmen did not so act, that all spirit of fairness has not given way to selfishness—have obtained a success; but that success will be only temporary. In its real effect it will be more of a defeat than a triumph. In the aim and action of the Nonconformists there is a germ of common, absolute truth and fairness which must, by its very growth and spread, and, sooner or later, reach the minds of all. That principle can never die: it is at the foundation of civil and religious liberty, and sustains the freedom we now enjoy; and we might as well all work to absorb the ocean as to stop its progress in the human mind.

In one sense, the present election will be a misfortune for the Liberal cause in Plymouth for a long time to come, unless some special circumstances arise to prevent it. We sincerely hope they will. The Nonconformists feel greatly pained at the way the Churchmen have treated them. For years past they have united with Churchmen in sending candidates of their creed to Parliament; and now, when for the first time a Dissenter is offered them, they turn round ungratefully and spitefully and treat the Nonconformists with contempt. But

the latter have stated as significantly, as determinedly, that however bold the courage and high the dealing of Churchmen, there is a spirit among them which can meet it, and which will meet it. In future they know what to expect: and will search for means to successfully battle with the difficulty and meet it. Upon every ground we hope the present action of the Churchmen and Nonconformists will not result in a party religious fight of Church and Dissent—a fight which must be more or less bitter; but, unless there is a better spirit manifested on the part of Churchmen generally towards Nonconformists, that is what affairs will come to. The Nonconformists do not seek the issue; nor do they shrink from it. They stand upon the ground of equal religious liberty all round; and they will not move back an inch. It can, under these circumstances, hardly be surprising if they should keep long in remembrance the unkind manner in which they have been treated on this occasion. They will, however, in their own interests, be compelled to act with tact and discretion, for any Liberal loss must in this respect be to their disadvantage, and to the profit of Churchmen.

A large number of Liberal dockyardsmen voted for Mr. Bates; they were brought to the polling places from the dockyard in carriages and wagonettes. Here nearly 200 votes were lost. About fifty were lost by the publicans, and eleven by the Jews. But as we said above the greatest loss was through the Churchmen. There was on the register 4,600 voters, and only 3,264 voted. Allowing 400 for double entries, deaths, &c.—an ample allowance—there were then 1,000 voters who remained inactive; and they were, for the most part, Liberals. On the previous day, we were informed that Mr. J. N. Bennett went through the list to ascertain the actual condition of affairs, and taking only those absolutely pledged to Mr. Rooker—leaving out altogether those unpledged—the Liberals were strong enough to have carried the election by 200 majority, that is, of course, supposing that every one pledged kept his word. To give an idea of how the voters held back, we give the numbers of the last election, and it must be borne in mind, in reading this, that there have since been large additions to the electoral list—

	1868	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Collier	163	1,027	1,228	1,486	1,745	1,833	1,975	2,086	
Morrison	168	1,022	1,214	1,469	1,729	1,717	1,982	2,065	
Lane	75	739	895	1,108	1,305	1,343	1,451	1,599	

It will therefore be seen that Mr. Rooker did not poll as many votes by hundreds as did both Sir R. P. Collier and Mr. Morrison, and twenty-five less than even Mr. Stuart Lane.

At a subsequent meeting of the Liberal committee it was resolved unanimously to defray by subscription the entire cost incurred on behalf of the Liberal candidate, amounting, in spite of the most economical management, to over 800*l*. The committee themselves are to bear more than half the expenses.

DOVER.

The Solicitor-General was re-elected for Dover on Saturday by a majority of eighty-eight votes, his majority of 243 at 12 o'clock having from that hour gradually dwindled down to the number stated. The total numbers polled were—Jessel, 1,231; Barnett, 1,143. There was tremendous excitement in the town in the afternoon, and after the declaration of the poll, the mob went to the office of the *Dover Chronicle*, the organ of Mr. J. G. Churchward, and smashed the windows. They also broke the windows of the office of the Liberal journal, the *Dover Express*. The crowd next went to the pier end of the town, where they smashed the windows of the Dover Castle Hotel, where Mr. Jessel was staying. They also broke the windows of the King's Head Hotel, where the prominent members of the Liberal party were dining together, and of Adamson's Royal Hotel, the proprietor of which is one of Mr. Jessel's supporters. The bands of the rival candidates came into collision at the corner of one of the streets, and much damage was done to their instruments. The police took four or five of the ringleaders into custody; but it was not until two or three o'clock on Sunday morning that the town became at all quiet. Glaziers were hard at work yesterday repairing the damage of the rioters, the principal rooms of the Dover Castle Hotel being, it is stated, quite uninhabitable till this has been done.

Epitome of News.

The president of the Oxford University Boating Club has forwarded the usual challenge to Cambridge for the great annual race in the spring.

The Birmingham and Midland Counties Cattle and Poultry Show opened on Saturday. The show is one of the largest ever held in Birmingham, the total entries being 3,268. The quality of the cattle, though remarkably good, differs little from previous years.

On Tuesday Drs. Lankester and Hardwicke held inquests on the bodies of seventeen persons whose deaths were accelerated by the severe weather. Verdicts to that effect were returned.

The telegraphic report that the Midland and Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Companies were to be amalgamated turns out to be a base forgery, with a view, no doubt, to influence the Share Market.

The trial of the Rev. John Selby Watson for the wilful murder of his wife has been definitively fixed to commence at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, December 13.

The trial of the police-constables charged with assault in the Phoenix Park riots, Dublin, has been removed to the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin.

A genuine centenarian, it is alleged, has at last

been discovered. The old lady still lives, in the enjoyment of comparative health, at Launceston, in Cornwall. Her name is Catherine Tickle. The register of her baptism has been discovered; its date is Nov. 17, 1771.

At a general meeting of *employés* in the goods department of various railways, held in Liverpool on Saturday night, it was announced that the directors of all the companies had consented to reduce the hours of labour from sixty-one to fifty-seven per week.

Crowded meetings were held on Saturday at Exeter and Tiverton, to protest against the surcharging system adopted by Mr. Lowe in respect to the income-tax. At the latter place Sir Stafford Northcote was one of the speakers in support of the protest.

The St. Pancras guardians have discussed the question of introducing Australian meat into the workhouse, and the conclusion at which they arrived was that they would first try it themselves. Accordingly their next board day dinner is to consist of dishes of Australian beef and mutton cooked according to the most approved modes.

On Saturday a Republican Club was inaugurated at Bolton. A disturbance was created, but the disturbers having been ejected, the meeting proceeded, and Mr. George Odger defended Sir C. Dilke's Newcastle speech. After the meeting the audience, on leaving the hall, were pelted with rotten eggs.

The Free Sunday Society is now organising a movement to oppose any Sunday Trading Bill that may be brought forward next session.

A conference took place on Saturday between Mr. Scott Russell and the leading members of the Skilled Workmen's Committee respecting the new social movement. It was agreed to postpone any action in regard to the seven resolutions. In the meantime, the committee "are willing to co-operate with any members of the Legislature, without reference to political party, for the purpose of improving the social and industrial condition of the working classes."

On Sunday, some thousands of people assembled in the Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, at the memorial cross erected in memory of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, the "Manchester martyrs." Prayers were recited, and then the crowd proceeded to visit other graves in the cemetery, amongst them that of Edward Duffy, who died in Millbank Prison. The meeting is considered to have been a failure. Two days previously there had been a procession at Cork, in connection with the same event. About 8,000 were present, but no disturbance occurred.

Several railway accidents, owing chiefly to the fog which prevailed on Friday, are reported. The most serious occurred in the evening on the express from Scotland to the south. It ran into a train standing at the Wigan station, and about twenty persons were injured, but none so much so that fatal results are apprehended. A passenger train from Leeds to Ilkley ran into a goods train at Headingley on Friday afternoon, and about a dozen persons were hurt slightly. On the Caledonian Railway, near Dundee, a train was run into by a goods engine, five or six carriages thrown off the line, and the passengers shaken. A man who was placing fog signals on the line was run over and cut in pieces by the Irish mail.

A volume of tunes composed by the late Rev. T. T. Lynch for his hymn-book, "The Rivulet," will be published immediately.

The Memoirs of Talleyrand are at last to be given to the world. They were long withheld, from fear lest the revelations which they contain damaging to the First Empire might lead to their seizure by the Second.

Professor Phillip's new work on the "Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames," printed at the Oxford University Press, is now published.

The December number of the *Contemporary Review* contains, in addition to Tennyson's poem, papers by Max Müller, Huxley, Robert Buchanan, Dean Stanley, and Frederic Harrison—a strong cast.

LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION.—A gentleman advertised for a boy to assist him in his office, and nearly fifty applicants presented themselves to him. Out of the whole number he in a short time selected one, and dismissed the rest. "I should like to know," said a friend, "on what ground you selected that boy, who had not a single recommendation?" "You are mistaken," said the gentleman, "he had a great many. He wiped his feet when he came in, and closed the door after him, showing that he was careful. He gave up his seat instantly to that lame old man, showing that he was kind and thoughtful. He took off his cap when he came in, and answered my questions promptly and respectfully, showing that he was polite and gentlemanly. He picked up the book which I had purposely laid upon the floor, and replaced it upon the table, while all the rest stepped over it or shoved it aside; and he waited quietly for his turn, instead of pushing and crowding, showing that he was honest and orderly. When I talked with him, I noticed that his clothes were carefully brushed, his hair in nice order, and his teeth as white as milk; and when he wrote his name, I noticed that his finger-nails were clean, instead of being tipped with jet, like that handsome little fellow's in the blue jacket. Don't you call those letters of recommendation? I do, and I would give more for what I can tell about a boy by using my eyes ten minutes, than all the fine letters he can bring me."

Literature.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING ON MODERN SOCIETY.*

Archbishop Manning is evidently a believer in the policy of audacity. He may have all the subtlety which we are wont to ascribe to the Jesuit, but he has also a boldness and outspokenness which may possibly be part of the tactics which he thinks it wise to adopt, but which certainly help to secure for him the attention and respect of a people who are proverbial admirers of frankness. As Protestants we are not sorry to have such an adversary. There is a disposition in many quarters to deal very tenderly with the errors of the Romish Church, and to regard the charges made against her as gross exaggerations, if not positive calumnies. The violence of the Orange party and "No Popery" agitators has produced its natural reaction, and candid men who have not looked closely into the matter, disgusted by the falsehood of many of their statements and their exhibition of an intolerance as great as that which they are opposing, have been inclined to look more favourably on the object of their attack. Such agitators indeed have given themselves mainly to the exposure of specific abuses, in assailing which they have often succeeded only in covering themselves with discredit by their wild assertions, and in producing the impression that Romanism is much better than it is represented. Of its fundamental evils, which would remain though every tale about nunneries and confessionals should be disproved—its ingrained hatred of freedom, its stern opposition to scientific inquiry, its desire to subject hearts and consciences to the absolute sway of the priest—they have said little. It is time that public attention should be directed to this point, especially in view of the demands which Romanists are making both in this country and in Ireland, and the evident inclination of many to submit to them. When a Liberal Cabinet Minister like Mr. Chichester Fortescue tells us that the Government are bound to have some respect to the feelings of such ecclesiastics as prepared the recent manifesto of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, and when a leading Wesleyan preacher like Dr. Rigg insists that we ought to deal with Roman Catholic citizens as Roman Catholics, and shape our educational system accordingly—which really means that we should contribute to the support of schools in which Romish doctrine is taught, and where priestly influence is supreme—it is of the first importance that we should have clear and intelligent views of what Romanism is in this nineteenth century. We, therefore, thank the archbishop for giving the world a representation of its principles and aims so vivid and distinct that mistake is impossible. His strong emphatic language sweeps away at once the vain illusions in which many have indulged, and show us that what Rome was she is, or that if there be changes, it is only that she has become more extravagant in her claims, and, if possible, more intolerant in her spirit. So far from modifying any of her pretensions or toning down any of her bitter anathemas or reversing one of her severe verdicts on Protestantism, she is as arrogant to-day as she was three centuries ago. Indeed, it is not too much to say that her proudest prelate in the palmiest days of her supremacy in the land could not have adopted a haughtier tone than that which the archbishop has employed. We may be told that he is one of the most pronounced members of the Ultramontane school. Unfortunately, Ultramontanism and Roman Catholicism have now become almost synonymous. There are still, no doubt, Liberal men among the laity who chafe under the new Papal assumptions, but the strength and value of any clerical opposition to the Pope may be judged from the way in which the recusant prelates have, with few exceptions, submitted to the decrees of the Council of the Vatican. There can be no question that the archbishop expresses the prevalent view of the Romish Church, and in this light must his discourses be regarded.

The world is at war with God—its intellect has revolted against His truth—its will has rebelled against His law—society is in arms against His authority—everywhere is the Spirit of Antichrist rampant and powerful. These are the leading principles which the Archbishop seeks to establish in the four discourses which are before us. As abstract propositions, they are what most Christians would accept: it is only when we come to look at their specific applications that the difference of opinion arises. It is only too certain that much of the intellect of the age is arrayed against the

* *The Four Great Evils of the Day.* By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster. (London: Burns, Oates, and Co.)

Gospel. There are amongst us Atheists, Pantheists, Rationalists, and in many of the observations which our author makes on their errors we can agree, and admire the vigorous and trenchant style in which he deals with them. But he very soon makes it evident that there is no sympathy between us even in relation to errors which we alike deprecate, for he tells us, "The first cause of Rationalism (that is, the rejection of Christianity in the present day) was the rejection of the Divine authority of the Church of Jesus Christ three hundred years ago"—which implies that if men are not content to accept the doctrine of the Church as to the existence of God and the claims of Revelation, there is nothing to prevent them from lapsing into Rationalism and infidelity. We are to believe in God because we believe in the Holy Catholic Church, and if we abandon that position and seek to substitute a "human and historical basis" for the "Divine basis of certainty," as supplied by the authority of the Church, we are only preparing the way for the rejection of Christianity itself. Even "Catholics" themselves are not free from the criminal laxity, for in Germany there are some that claim to be Liberal, whose desire is to reduce to a minimum the truth which they are required to receive, and will accept that only which has been defined by the Councils, forgetting that "the whole tradition of Christianity comes down to us on the universal testimony of the infallibility of the Church of God." It is against the Church, then, and against the Pope as the representative of the Church, that reason has revolted, and whether it be the Liberal Catholic who refuses to submit to any authority except that of the General Councils, or the Protestant who asserts the absolute supremacy of the Bible, or the Atheist who denies even the existence and the rule of God, and is a law unto himself, they are all involved in the same condemnation. Indeed it is those who approach most nearly to the truth whom the Archbishop rebukes in the strongest terms—in terms so strong as to lead us to suspect, if he were not so serene and exalted a personage, that he had lost his temper. After describing the elements of the "conspiracy" against the Vatican Council, and showing how it had been disappointed in the result, he goes on to indicate the contempt with which he regards those who still refuse to bow to its authority, in language which sadly lacks the dignity that should be maintained by a prince of the Church. "If there be here and there a priest who does not not acknowledge its authority, they may be counted on your fingers. I do indeed hear of a professor here and there, but it is not all learned men that are professors, and it is not all professors that are learned men. Among the bishops and among the priests of the Church there are many profound theologians who have never sat in a professor's chair. It is not the habit that makes the monk, nor the title of professor that makes the learned man; and many that have never sat in the chair of a professor are more profoundly learned than many who have; and there are many sitting in those chairs who, I speak with profuse respect, are not learned. If, therefore, I find that in Germany some professors have been making declarations against the Council, that does not surprise, still less alarm me." The evil of this style of angry declamation is that it produces the opposite effect of that which is intended. Most readers will conclude that if the attitude of the German professors did not disturb the complacency of the archbishop, he would never have spoken of them in language whose smartness has not even the merit of novelty. The fact is, he has committed himself to a position of whose difficulties a mind of his acuteness cannot be insensible, and he is angry with those of his own Church who will not join him in the defence. Protestants can afford to smile at the infatuation of a policy which places the Church in such an absolute antagonism to everything that bears even the semblance of freedom, which scornfully repudiates every right of reason, which tells men that their one religious duty is to believe the Church and to believe not only what she declares, but everything which at any future time she may resolve to promulgate. If we were to seek for indications in this age of the revolt of the intellect against God, we should find it in this vain and impious attempt, as dishonouring to God as it is degrading to man, to set up the Church or the Pope as an idol, and insist that every human heart should prostrate itself in submission before it.

The assertion of the rights of the Church in political matters is quite as extreme. There is nothing in our modern society which pleases the Archbishop. Democracy is with him a synonym for anarchy, and its progress a sign of that wretched lawlessness characteristic of modern society. Public "rights," "liberty,"

"rights of man" are mere "silvery sounds" employed to delude souls and ruin society. He sighs after the old times, the ages of faith, the era when the civil society of the world was under the rule of the Church. For "nothing could be more beautiful, nothing more like to the vision of the heavenly city, than the rise of this Christian civilisation." He turns his eye back wistfully to the day when Leo placed the crown of the Roman Empire on the head of Charlemagne, the day which introduced an era "in which the kings and princes of Europe acknowledged the sovereignty of Jesus Christ," or, to translate the phrase into common English, recognised the headship of the Pope. He recites with all his beauty and eloquence the story of the consecration of our kings in those days, in order to convey the idea that he received his sovereignty at the hands of the Church, and confessed that she was the fountain of all legitimate authority. He depicts the fearful consequences that have followed the severance of this tie between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, or rather the reversal of their relations at the Reformation, and then puts before rulers this alternative:—

"There is, on the one hand, the one Holy Catholic Church, with its Divine authority, Divine faith, Divine laws, and its Divine obligations, spreading throughout the world, penetrating into all nations. This there is one side, and this in the noonday light. But there is on the other a society which is in the darkness of midnight—the deadly antagonist of the Church. It is one, because it is compactly united; it is unholy, for it springs from Satan; it is universal, for it is international; it is invisible, because it is hid out of the sight of men; and that is the universal international revolution of secret societies allied together for the common purpose of overturning, if it were possible (as it is not), the Church of God, and of overturning (as it is easily possible) all civil governments on earth. Between these two alternatives, the civil rulers of to-day have to make their choice. O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth. The choice is before you; civil life or death: choose promptly, that you may live."

In other words, we can only escape from the anarchy and horrors of the Commune by submitting ourselves to the tyranny of the Papacy, and this alternative is put before us by one who owes the opportunity he has for setting forth his views to the liberty which he blasphemes and seeks to undermine. We need not fear that Englishmen who know the blessing and joy of light will, at his bidding, return to the house of bondage.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Holy Bible, According to the Authorised Version. (Religious Tract Society.) This fine quarto edition of the Scriptures differs from ordinary versions by presenting the text in an improved arrangement, and giving many important emendations of the text. The ordinary and often misleading chapter-headings are omitted, and the text is divided into paragraphs and sections, according to the subjects, with appropriate headings; the poetical portions being metrically arranged. The emendations, which appear within brackets in the text, and are derived from the readings of the most ancient manuscripts, have been made under the editorship of Dr. Gutch and Dr. Jacob, who give only such as have the sanction of the best authorities, without encumbering the work with such as are conjectural or trivial, and the marginal references to parallel and illustrative texts have been newly compiled for this work. We are told that "this publication is the result of the careful work of more than ten years; the labours of the responsible editors were preceded by the preparatory services of other eminent scholars; and from the beginning to the end, every page has undergone repeated revisions." New chronological tables, a number of valuable maps, and a beautiful large type, add to the completeness of a family edition of the Bible, which does great credit to the Tract Society, and cannot fail to be highly appreciated by the public.

Organic Philosophy. Vol. III. *Outlines of Biology.* By HUGH DOHERTY, M.D. (London: Trubner and Co.) We are rather puzzled to know for what class of readers Dr. Doherty writes. His treatment of his subjects will hardly meet the wants of scientific students, but the terminology alone would be sufficient to deter ordinary readers. A book which treats of "Episcology," "Photologic relations," "Skeletal characteristics," "Instinctual modalities," and which, in fact, needs a long table of definitions to make it intelligible even to readers of some scholarship, certainly cannot be popular. The writer's plan is sufficiently extensive, for the present is only one of five volumes on "Episcology (the Three Kingdoms of Nature on our Globe)," "Ontology (Eternal Forces, Laws, and Principles)," "Systematic Biology, Systematic Sociology, and Diagnostics," which are defined as "Biological Methods in Parallel with Mathematics as a Science of Method." The idea which runs through the whole is the development of the laws of order as "seen in the co-operative association of the different cells and tissues, organs and systems of the human body." The author has evidently thought and read a good deal on the points he discusses, but we cannot say that it has been to much profit, or that the result is likely to be the enlightenment of his readers.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS, CHIEFLY FOR THE YOUNG.

The fourth edition of Mr. Edwin Hodder's *Junior Clerk: a Tale of City Life* (Hodder and Stoughton), is evidence of its popularity and usefulness. The careers of George Weston and Harry Ashton are well sketched. Here and there we have a genuine touch of human nature, and the writing is good throughout. The interest is well kept up, the chapter, "The Test of Friendship," being a sort of keystone to the whole. In one or two instances, however, we think there is too much tendency to sentiment. *A Journey to the Centre of the Earth*, by JULES VERNE (Griffith and Farran), is a fiction of a totally different character. It is a fanciful rendering of scientific truths, more especially geological truths. Professor Haudewigg, guided by a mystic document which he manages, after considerable toil, to decipher, is directed to a crater in Iceland, down which he can descend to the centre of the earth. Here he feigns to have seen the whole process of the ages, making us acquainted with pre-Adamite life in our planet in the most laughable and attractive narrative style. Some of the descriptions are really capital, and bring objects vividly before the mind, in spite of the half-humorous atmosphere in which the whole is wrapped. It is a translation from the French, of course. We are led back to incident and military adventure in Mr. HENTZ's *Young Franc-Tireurs* (Griffith and Farran), which gives a very excellent idea of the part they played in the Franco-Prussian War. A unity of interest is gained by the stories of some English people who were in the track of the war; and Mr. Hentz takes care to let the greater part of the story run into dialogue, which is sometimes very smart, and always readable. Altogether, it is a capital book to give as a present to a boy.—*Miss Herbert's Eggs*, by Mrs. H. B. PAUL (Sunday-school Union), on the other hand, is a girl's book, and is a sort of simple rendering of the same theme as was treated in "Mistress and Maid." One or two of the characters are pretty well conceived and portrayed—Miss Thornton, Stephen Butler, and the two servants, Jane and Susan. The style is clear and unpretentious, and well suited to the subject. *The House in Town*, by the Author of the "Wide, Wide World" (Nisbet), is a capital specimen of that author's style. It recounts the youthful experiences of several young folks, and gives a very good idea of several phases of social life in America. It is full of domestic incident; and, as the characters are very well contrasted—especially Matilda and Miss Judy—and the style very pleasant, it is a book to be recommended.

Nobly Born, by EMMA JANE WORBOISE (James Clarke and Co.), is a story of keen interest. How young Hugh Vassall is brought up by Martin and Margery Wray, at Eaglesmere, a Scotch hamlet, never believing himself to be their grandson, how he travels, studies at Heidelberg, writes for the London newspapers, and has many interesting adventures; how at last, on his return home, he saves Lady Maude from Eaglesmere Castle when a fire breaks out, and how, finally, he is recognised as a son of the second marchioness by a former marriage, and with the consent of her father weds Lady Olive—to see how all this is wrought out, the reader must go to the volume itself. Scotch is very hard to write; and the Scotch in this story—though border Scotch—is rather "milt"; but in spite of this small drawback, the story is one of the very best Mrs. Worboise has written.—*Percy Raydon*, by BETA LUSTRE (Sunday-school Union), is of a somewhat different kind,—being a story with a lesson. But the lesson is not too much obtruded; and the youthful career of Percy Raydon is depicted with considerable skill in a lively and nimble style of narrative, all tending to show the value of self-control and how he learned it.—*Eve and Bertie* (Religious Tract Society) is a tale for quite young children; but it recounts attractively Eve's first great Christmas Eve, and what came out of it, in a very simple and pleasant manner.—*The Hymn my Mother Taught Me*, by A. L. O. E. (Nelson), is also adapted to children; being the story of Ben the Orphan, and how he succeeded. Like all this author's writings it is full of tender and suggestive touches, and high religious lessons are very naturally introduced. Scenes of shipwreck and incidents in the Crimean war are brought in, and greatly tend to enliven it.—*In Mellican's Home*, by CRONA TEMPLE (Religious Tract Society) the little heroine is sent to Ireland, where her experiences among the peasants of Ardnamona, and her efforts to benefit them, are recounted. Besides that the tale has a good moral lesson, much may be learned from it by boys and girls as to the condition of the peasantry in Ireland.—*The Gate and the Glory Beyond it* (Hodder and Stoughton) is a tale recounting the sufferings of a family in France during the Franco-Prussian war. The father is wounded and dies. The mother and her son Frederick try to flee to England. The boat in which they embark is threatened with shipwreck; and the mother at length dies also, leaving the boy an orphan. Some of the scenes are touching; but the general construction is defective.—*The Child's Own Magazine for 1871* contains a number of stories, poems, pieces of music, and pictures, all well suited for young folks. It is very neatly bound, and would form a nice little present.

The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare (Gall and Inglis), is another of a series of standard authors issued by this firm, for which they have acquired a reputation;

Wordsworth, Byron, Scott, and many others having been issued in a similar cheap and handy form. There is no pretence at editing; but the volumes are uniformly printed with care and nicely got up. In this case, a little biographical sketch of Shakespeare—not so full as it might have been, since there are a number of personal facts that are not even glanced at here—is given from the pen of Mr. Robert Inglis. This is a capital edition for those who are not able to procure any of the more elaborate editions, such as that of Charles Knight, which are most to be recommended.—In *Poems of Robert Cadyon Harvey* (Nimmo), we have a very unequal work—some parts of it giving hint of real lyrical spirit, and others being diffuse and flat to a degree. We prefer to signalise the best and most individual pieces, passing by what are clearly echoes of such poets as Byron, Poe, and Shelley. The three pieces in memoriam, with which the volume opens, are very good, touched now and then with genuine lyrical poetry, more especially that on "My Sister Agnes." The "Good Night! Good Night!" in "Lyra Cordis" is of a very different cast, and is spirited; and "Loda" is, to our thinking, very beautiful, though it only consists of eight lines.—The second series of *Readings for Winter Gatherings*, edited by the Rev. JAMES FLEMING, D.D. (Religious Tract Society), is quite equal to the former one. It has due variety, which is an essential element in such a collection. There are grave and gay in both verse and prose; but nothing is included that has not some right to be included in Christian literature. It is a very safe volume for the family or for young folks; fitted to amuse innocently and to instruct playfully.—The Rev. W. M. Punshon, M.A., his *Life and Work* (Osborn), gives a very readable sketch of the great Methodist preacher's life, with telling selections from his sermons; and we have no doubt it will be a valued work in many a Methodist household.

A new edition of the *History of the Bristol Orphan Houses under the Direction of Mr. George Müller*, by W. ELVE TAYLER (Morgan and Scott), shows that the interest in these institutions on the part of the public is still warm. There is something very wonderful in the way Müller has been guided, and the manner in which his institution has been supported. He depends on spontaneous charity; and he has gone on adding house to house till his orphan houses are now perhaps the most perfect places of the kind in the world. He has never lacked means: money and gifts have come in the most extraordinary ways, and those who wish to see how *outré* things can be made available for a good purpose should glance at page 107 of this volume, where the remarkable character of some donations is spoken of. This account would almost compel belief in Providence, if one did not come with implicit faith in it. The volume is neat, and is illustrated with engravings of the various houses.—The *Midshipmen's Trip to Jerusalem, and Cruise in Syria*, by AUGUSTUS R. LYNE, R.N. (Sampson Low and Co.), goes over somewhat beaten ground, which many learned and able pens have before described, for the most part. But the peculiar circumstances of the party whose adventures are here chronicled, give it a peculiar interest. The midshipmen on board the training-ship *Trafalgar*, when they were ordered to the East, petitioned for liberty to visit the Holy Land. Their request was granted, and a party of eighty-three set forth for Jerusalem, and their tour is here very fully described. The Jordan, Jericho, Mar-Soba, and numbers of other places were also visited; and Mr. Lyne sets down the varied reminiscences of the party with a decision and vigour, such as almost render unnecessary his reminder "how little suited is a man-of-war for any attempt at authorship, as a quiet spot can scarcely be found, especially in my situation, without a cabin." "where I could obtain the solitude necessary for my 'undertaking.'" In spite of all these drawbacks, Mr. Lyne has put together a very interesting narrative, which we hope will be largely read.—Miss Whately, in her new volume *Among the Huts in Egypt* (Seeley), transports us from Palestine to Egypt. In a series of very attractive chapters she tells us all about the lower classes of Egypt, their ways and places of resort, the bazaars, the kind of labour the Fellahs have to do, the marriages and the social customs generally prevailing, and she never misses a chance of hinting at the wretched squalor and ignorance which make such a mission of teaching as she is engaged in so necessary and so beneficent. She writes in an easy and graceful vein, and never allows herself to be drawn away from scenes of real life. In this consists the value of the volume: it gives a series of photographs of the lower classes of Egypt, and if it tends in some places rather directly to strip off the romance with which we are inclined to shroud Egypt, it shows how much may be done by Christian teaching to reform matters that seemed almost beyond reform.

Notabilia: or Curious and Amusing Facts about Many Things, Explained and Illustrated, by JOHN TIMBS (Griffith and Farran), is a specimen of the careful and methodic way in which this indefatigable book-maker keeps his commonplace books; it is just a commonplace book printed. Here we find all manner of out-of-the-way information, such as has turned up in current literature for the past few years—from a *précis* of "Ride a Cock-horse from Banbury Cross" to Cobbett's nicknames, and the philosophy of Easter eggs. It is odd to find Mr. Timbs inferentially correct-

ing newspaper writers "for the misuse of the word 'Curious,'" when he uses it himself in the peccant sense on his very title-page. It is a large, handy, well-printed, useful, and amusing volume.—The *Cities of the Nations Fell*, by the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. (Hurst and Blackett), is also a little of a compilation, although the eloquence of the author almost elevates it to something higher. He recounts the leading facts in the fall of Babyion, Nineveh, Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople amongst ancient cities, and then, with some defiance of chronology, he descants in his own peculiar attractive manner, on the downfall of Metz, Sedan, Vienna, Munich, Madrid, Paris, and Chicago, duly drawing the lessons as to the instability of all earthly things, and pointing to the city that never falls. Naturally the largest space is devoted to Paris, which is nearly all filled with telling extracts from the journals which Dr. Cumming knows well how to use with effect. If it is not a very original, it is, at any rate, an interesting and instructive volume.—*Sundays in the Temple*, by Dr. C. J. VAUGHAN (Strahan and Co.), is a series of sermons in the preacher's earnest, equable, meditative vein, which, however, is at times very effective. The topics are well chosen, for most part; being such as Indifference, Profaneity, Revival, Zeal, Patience, Economy, Retaliation, and Resurrection, and these are invariably treated with a certain quiet thoughtfulness and subdued fervour such as should have made them attractive in the delivery. At all events they are very pleasant to read; their literary graces being many and marked.—*Family Prayers*, by the same author (Strahan), are written in a simple style and true spirit, and may be commended. There are morning and evening prayers for four weeks, so that sufficient variety is attained.—*Improvement in Affliction*, by JAMES BUCHANAN, D.D., LL.D. (T. and T. Clark), is the ninth edition of what was meant as a practical sequel to a series of meditations, entitled, "Comfort in Affliction," the tenth edition of which was noticed by us some time ago. In spite of a marked hardness and narrowness of doctrinal view in these treatises, they are admirably simple and well calculated to encourage a devotional frame. The acceptance they have already received abundantly proves this, and their kindly and anxious Christian spirit renders them worthy of this popularity.—*Within the Gates*, by G. D. EVANS (Elliot Stock), is a somewhat similar work; but it has more fervour, more unction. The chapters on the employments of heaven and the enjoyments of heaven might be specially cited to prove this. Mr. Evans's book may be found useful to many, especially to invalids and others who may not be able to attend public worship.—The *Footsteps of Christ*; translated from the German of A. CASPER, by ADELAIDE E. BODHAM (T. and T. Clark), is not wanting in a devotional element; but it is more textual and exegetical than the former two. It is a book of solid thought and solid learning, and should find a considerable public in its English dress. Extracts are given here and there from great thinkers and divines of all countries, which, as they are fitly set, give an added value to the work.—*Bright Rays for Dark Days* (the Religious Tract Society) is a series of meditations on the various names of God; all being treated in a devout, simple, and tender strain. The booklet is excellently suited for parents and for Sunday-school teachers and scholars.

Miscellaneous.

BABOO KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.—The friends of the Baboo in England have made him a present of a handsome sweet-toned organ for his church in Calcutta. It was shipped on board the steamer on Saturday last, and, it is hoped, may be opened at the great Somaj Festival in January, 1872, when the different representatives of this religious movement in India meet at Calcutta from the various parts of this great empire. Mr. Sen is aiming to introduce English music and hymns among the natives, and the organ he thinks will facilitate this important work.

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE FOR INFANTS.—The half-yearly court and election of the above institution was held on Friday at the Cannon-street Hotel, under the presidency of Mr. Welch. Mr. Soul, the secretary, read the report, which stated that since the foundation of the charity in 1864 there had been admitted 146 infants, and 118 now remain under its care, and every child who has left the Orphanage has been provided for, either by its friends, or by admission into some kindred institution. The building will accommodate 400 children, and the only reason that number is not now enjoying its advantages is the want of sufficient funds. At the present election eight infants will be admitted from a list of thirty-two candidates, the two highest on the poll will be retained in the Orphanage until sixteen years of age, and trained as nurses. The children generally are retained until nine years of age. The total receipts since December, 1864, to July, 1871, have been 25,292l. 19s. 5d., and the total payments, including 3,329l. for purchase of land, and 21,813l. paid on account of the building of the Orphanage, have amounted to 34,682l. 3s. 9d., leaving a liability of 9,389l. 4s. 4d., which has since been reduced by the gift of 1,000l. from "D. N." To extinguish this debt, and to realise the full benefits of the charity, a scheme has been started for fifty ladies and gentlemen to undertake to col-

lect twenty-five guineas each per annum for four years. Already thirty such sums have been promised, and it is hoped the other twenty names will be obtained by January next. The sum of 5,000 guineas will thus be obtained beyond the ordinary income. The report having been adopted and the routine business transacted, the election was then proceeded with. The names of the successful candidates are advertised elsewhere.

WORKMEN'S PEACE ASSOCIATION.—A meeting of the members of the above association was held at their rooms, Buckingham-street, Strand, on Saturday night, when the chair was taken by Mr. Davis, for the purpose of receiving the report of the work of the deputation in the provinces during the past several weeks in support of Mr. Henry Richard's forthcoming motion next session for a system of international arbitration instead of a recourse to war. Messrs. Higginbotham and Pratt reported that among other places they had held successful meetings at Ipswich, Bury, Swaffham, Fakenham, Thetford, Dereham, Norwich, Peterborough, and Cambridge, at all of which resolutions in favour of the motion had been passed. The secretary, Mr. Cremer, reported that Messrs. Britton, Joiner, and Babbs had been sent out from the association as deputations, and that other meetings were pending in Birkenhead, Chester, Warrington, Aylesbury, Reading, Wolverhampton, Rochester, Gravesend, Maidstone, Oxford, Canterbury, Birmingham, Walsall, Coventry, Stourbridge, and Kidderminster. A letter was read from Professor Seeley, in which he said:—"It is an encouraging sign that the new class which is now waking to political consciousness in England should have enough independence of thought, leaving the beaten road of politics, to place international fraternity upon their programme. The support of the working men, if they make good the profession of their manifesto that their aims and views are thoroughly practical, may carry the scheme over its first hindrance, which is the difficulty of obtaining a hearing. Once admitted to serious consideration, such a proposal has too much support in the tendency of modern affairs not to make steady way."

Gleanings.

Mr. Onslow Yorke has written the Secret History of the International.

Mrs. Parr has written the Christmas number of *Good Words*, and the author of "Annals of an Obscure Life" that of the *Sunday Magazine*.

The "European Psalter," upon the compilation of which Dr. S. Wesley has been occupied for upwards of thirty years, is at last in the printers' hands, and will very shortly appear.

The Birmingham Jews have formed an association to oppose the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews. Everybody paying a shilling a year is to be a member.

An Irishman, quarrelling with an Englishman, told him that if he didn't hold his tongue, he would break his impenetrable head and let the brains out of his empty skull.

The *Nenagh Guardian* says an unaccountable fatality has occurred to turkeys which were bought by the inhabitants at the last great turkey market in Nenagh.

Two of the bouquets thrown upon the stage on different evenings to Mlle. Titiens, during the recent operatic season in Glasgow, contained, one of them a pair of magnificent pearl earrings, and the other a beautiful necklace set with rubies and diamonds.

While a vendor of greens was endeavouring to dispose of his stock-in-trade, his poor old donkey came to a standstill and refused to budge an inch. The driver finally commenced belabouring the animal with a stick, when an old lady thrust her head out of a window, and exclaimed, "Have you no mercy?"—"No, ma'am," replied the man, "nothing but greens."

A BEWILDERING ADVERTISEMENT.—The *Birmingham Daily Post* contains the following singular advertisement:—"A Christian gentleman is anxious to sell an ancient ugly Dutch clock (1665). It would be an ornament in any Indian's wigwam.—Address, &c."

A correspondent of the *Figaro* has copied the following epitaph, to be seen in the churchyard at Malaga:—"Here lies Juan Perez, who was a good father, a good son, and a good husband. Note—do not mistake him for his younger brother who bears the same name, and is in penal servitude at Ceuta."

A CUNNING DOG.—The *Panama Star* tells the following story of a smart dog:—"When the dog wishes to cross a river where alligators abound he goes up the stream a great way and barks with all his might; the alligators go there and wait for him to swim across. The dog knows what he is about. When he sees from the number of snouts above water that his enemies have all gathered for the feast, he runs down the bank as fast as he can, and swims across before the alligators are aware of the trick that has been played upon them."

A MIDNIGHT ADVENTURE.—A circumstantially narrated report has been circulated during the last few days relative to an alleged incident which recently occurred near Taunton. A Somersetshire yeoman, driving home from Taunton market in the "wee short hours ayont the twal," was hailed, about two miles out, but within sight of Taunton lights, by a petticoated pedestrian, box in hand, who solicited the favour of a "lift." Nothing loth,

the unsuspecting farmer drew rein and bade his passenger "jump up." The box already mentioned having been first deposited in the trap, the quasi dame was about to follow, when the sharp eye of the farmer detected beneath the skirt a covering for the legs, which pronounced the wearer to be something even more formidable than a "blue-stocking." Justly apprehensive of a companion of so dubious a sex—whether a woman who "wore the breeches" or "a man in petticoats," he of the whip, as discreet as he was erewhile gallant, gave mouth to his steed and dashed off with "somebody's luggage," but without the "somebody." At this juncture two more wayfarers of decidedly masculine exterior sprang forth from the hedge, presumably with a view of aiding in some nefarious piece of business their accomplice who was to have been co-occupant of the vehicle. Thus the "plant"—if plant it was—was frustrated. —*Somerset County Gazette.*

NOTICE.—All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage stamps.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTH.

VARDY.—Nov. 23, at Maidenhead, the wife of Charles Alfred Vardy, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

EVANS.—Nov. 20, in London, Samuel Glyde Evans, eldest son of the late Samuel Turnbull Evans, of Ottery St. Mary, Devon, aged 19.

HOBV.—Nov. 20, at Caterham, Surrey, the Rev. Dr. Hobv, in his eighty-second year.

HULL.—Nov. 28, at Richmond House, Angell Town, Brixton, George K. Hull, fourth son of the Rev. E. Hull, in the 35th year of his age.

MABBS.—Nov. 18, at the house of her nephew, Mr. F. Piper, Stisted, near Braintree, Myra Mabbs, late of Billerica, aged 67.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Nov. 22.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued £38,548,155 Government Debt. £11,015,100
Other Securities 3,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion 23,548,155
Silver Bullion

£38,548,155 £38,548,155

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietor's Capital £14,553,000 Government Securities, (inc. dead weight annuity) £15,001,028
Reserve .. 3,119,812
Public Deposits .. 6,564,582
Other Deposits .. 22,123,550
Seven Day and other Bills .. 514,489
Gold & Silver Coin 646,613

£46,875,433 £46,875,433

Nov. 23, 1871.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Nov. 27.

We had a short supply of English wheat for to-day's market, but arrivals from abroad are liberal. The attendance of buyers was small, and only a limited business resulted. English wheat barely supported last Monday's quotations, and foreign wheat sold slowly at previous rates. Flour was unaltered in value. Peas and beans were each 1s. per qr. lower. Barley was a slow sale, at late prices. Indian corn maintained previous prices. Of oats we had larger arrivals than of late. The trade was barely as good as last week, but prices remained without change. Cargoes on the coast meet slow demand and are the turn lower.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	PEAS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red.	52 to 57		Grey ..	37 to 40	
Ditto new.	52 to 57		Maple ..	43 46	
White ..	58 63		White ..	39 43	
" new	58 63		Boilers ..	39 43	
Foreign red ..	55 59		Foreign ..	38 42	
" white ..	60 63				
BARLEY—			RYE ..	36 38	
English malting	31 34				
Chevalier ..	37 42		OATS—		
Distilling ..	34 37		English feed ..	24 27	
Foreign ..	33 37		" potato ..	28 34	
			Scotch feed ..	— —	
MALT—			" potato ..	— —	
Pale ..	— —		Irish Black ..	19 22	
Chevalier ..	— —		" White ..	21 25	
" Brown ..	49 54		Foreign feed ..	17 22	
BEANS—			FLOUR—		
Ticks ..	37 39		Town made ..	47 50	
Harrow ..	39 44		Best country ..	— —	
Small ..	— —		household ..	41 44	
Egyptian ..	32 34		Norfolk & Suffolk	38 40	

BREAD, Saturday, Nov. 25.—The prices in the Metropolitan are, for Wheat Bread, per 4 lbs. loaf, 7d. to 8d.; Household Bread, 6d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Nov. 27.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 15,653 head. In the corresponding week in 1870 we received 12,463; in 1869, 12,471; in 1868, 3,817; and in 1867, 11,533 head. The cattle trade to-day has been in an unsettled state, and the tendency of prices has been decidedly in favour of buyers. Owing to the falling-off in the foreign receipts the show of beasts has been less extensive; nevertheless, there has been a want of animation in the inquiry for all breeds, and prices have been barely maintained. The best Scots and crosses have sold at 5s. 10d., Runts and Herefords at 5s. 8d., and the choicest foreign at 5s. 4d. to 5s. 6d. per 8lbs. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we received about 1,750 shorthorns, &c.; from other parts of England about 250 various breeds;

from Scotland 93 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland about 100 oxen. A moderate supply of sheep has been in the pens, and some good stock has been noticed amongst the English breeds. Sales have progressed slowly, and prices have receded 2d. per 8lbs. The best Downs and half-breeds have sold at 6s. 6d. to 6s. 8d. per 8lbs. Calves have changed hands quietly, at about late rates. Pigs have been disposed of at about previous quotations.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3	10	4	2	Pr. coarse woolled	6	2	6	4
Second quality	5	0	5	6	Prime Southdown	6	6	6	8
Prime large oxen	5	6	5	8	Large coarse calves	3	8	4	6
Prime Scots	5	8	5	10	Prime small	5	0	5	8
Coarse inf. sheep	4	4	5	0	Large hogs	3	6	4	0
Second quality	5	2	6	0	Neat sm. porkers	4	0	4	8

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Nov. 27.—Moderate supplies of meat have been on sale. The trade has been dull at barely late rates. The import into London last week consisted of 1,080 packages from Hamburg, 182 from Harlingen, 17 from Rotterdam, and 464 from Tanning.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef	3	4	4	0	Middling do.	4	6	4	8
Middling do.	4	2	4	6	Prime do.	5	0	5	2
Prime large do.	4	8	5	0	Large pork	3	4	4	0
Prime small do.	5	0	5	2	Small do.	4	6	5	0
Veal	5	0	5	6	Lamb	0	0	0	0
Inferior Mutton	3	8	4	4					

PROVISIONS, Monday, Nov. 27.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 1,172 firkins butter and 3,548 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 27,252 packages butter and 1,613 bales bacon. The Irish butter market ruled rather slow last week, but holders were firm in price with the finest qualities. Dutch butter still further declined about 4s. per cwt., but other descriptions of foreign sold steadily at late rates. The bacon market ruled slow at the close of the week without alteration in prices of the best Waterford, but Cork and Limerick barely maintained last rates.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Friday, Nov. 24.—Transactions generally have been limited during the week. Hothouse pines and grapes are well supplied, and some good American Newtown pippins are in the market. Outdoor produce very plentiful and good, with the exception of dessert apples. Peas are plentiful, and comprise Chaumontelle, Nelis d'Hiver, Glou Moreau, Jean de Witte, Doyenné du Comice, and others. Peaches are over. In the potato market prices are stationary, in consequence of the disappearance of the frost. The principal flowers in the market are of course chrysanthemums, but we have a few hyacinths, tulips, primulas, and poinsettias.

HOPS.—BOROUGH, Monday, Nov. 27.—Our market continues firm, the languor of the trade not having any effect upon prices generally; here and there, however, where parcels are pressed to sale, small reductions are made in order to effect sales. Continental advices report the markets quiet, with lower figures. Mid and East Kent, 10l., 12l. 12s., to 16l. 16s.; Weald, 8l. 10s., 9l. 9s., to 10l. 10s.; Sussex, 7l. 5s., 8l., to 9l. 9s.; Farnham and country, 11l., 13l. to 16l. Yearlings—Mid and East Kent, 3l. 4l. 4s., to 6l. 10s.; Weald of Kent, 3l., 4l., to 6l. 15s.; Sussex, 3l., 3l. 10s., to 5l. 5s.; Farnham and country, 4l. 10s. 5l. 5s., to 6l.; Olds, 1l. 5s., 1l. 10s., to 2l. 0s.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Nov. 27.—Good supplies of potatoes have been on sale. The trade has been firm at our quotations. The imports into London last week consisted of 185 tones 483 sacks from Dunkirk, 18 packages from Hamburg, 136 from Rotterdam, 2 from Harlingen, 4,725 from Antwerp, and 23 from Amsterdam. Regents, 90s. to 120s. per ton; Rocks, 90s. to 105s. per ton; Flukes, 110s. to 130s. per ton; Victorias, 110s. to 130s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, Nov. 27.—English cloverseed comes out very slowly, and being more asked for, fine qualities bring very high rates. Foreign red is steady at the advanced values already reached; but during the past week buyers have shown rather less disposition to operate at the rates now quoted for forward delivery. White clovers fully maintain the advance noted in former reports. There is an improving inquiry for the finer sorts of trefoil, and all kinds are fully as dear as they were last week.

WOOL, Monday, Nov. 27.—The wool market has been characterised by an increased amount of firmness. A large business has been doing in most qualities, but the demand is still principally confined to choice hogs and wethers, for which extreme rates are demanded.

OIL, Monday, Nov. 27.—Lined oil has been quieter, but rape has sold slowly. Other oils have been quiet, but firm.

TALLOW, Monday, Nov. 27.—The market is quieter. Y.C., spot, 48s. 3d. per cwt. Town tallow, 47s. net cash.

COAL, Monday, Nov. 27.—Market firm at last day's rates. Huttons, 21s. 6d.; Lyons, 19s. 9d.; Haswell, 21s. 6d.; Hartlepool, East, 21s. 3d.; Hough Hall, 21s.; Kelloe South, 21s.; Cannella Brancepeth, 11s.; Indworth, 21s. Ships fresh arrived, 40; ships at sea, 15.

GOOD VALUE FOR MONEY is desired by all, but with articles that cannot be judged of by appearance, careful purchasers rely on the high standing of those with whom they deal. For thirty years, Horniman's Pure Teas in packets have given general satisfaction, being exceedingly strong, of uniform good quality, and truly cheap. (2,536 Agents are appointed.)

BREAKFAST.—EPPE'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Eppe has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately-flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills."—Civil Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled—"James Eppe & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London." Also, makers of Eppe's Cacaoine, a very thin beverage for evening use.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—CONSOLATION FOR THE TROUBLED.—All sufferers from colds, asthma, chest complaints, and shortness of breath, should have this Ointment well rubbed upon the back, between the blades of the breast, twice a day; after diligent friction with it for a short time respiration becomes easy, and the circulation calmed. Holloway's Pills should be taken while his Ointment is being used, as they will remove any impurities from the general system which the local application of the Ointment would be slow in reaching. In indigestion and dyspepsia Holloway's remedies are invaluable. On the liver and kidneys they exercise the most salutary effect, and are safe and effective aperients; in fact, they regulate every function of the body.

Advertisements.

WANTED near, but not in London, a HOME and EDUCATION for TWO YOUTHS. A School objected to. Religious training an essential.—Address, "Education," Office of Nonconformist, Bouvarie-street, Fleet-street, London.

WANTED, after CHRISTMAS, a MASTER (Nonconformist) to teach English Subjects, Junior Latin, and French and Vocal Music. Apply, Rev. R. Allott, Nonconformist Grammar School, Bishop's Stortford.

URGENT APPEAL!

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK-HILL; Office, 73, CHEAPSIDE, E.C.

The oldest and one of the most economically conducted Institutions of its kind. Founded in 1758. Incorporated 1848.

The School has accommodation for 400 children, but is not full for want of funds.

120 Candidates are applying for admission.

The Annual Income required is about £10,000

The Income from Property is only £2,200

That from Subscriptions averages 2,400

Amount still to be raised annually 5,400

1st, By additional Annual Subscriptions; 2nd, by Donations; 3rd, by Collections after Sermons, and other means.

The education given to the Children is of the most useful kind, and many who have left are now occupying positions of trust.

JOHN KEMP WELCH, Treasurer.

JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

Contributions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, the London Joint Stock Bank, Princes-street (and at all its branches), and at the Office of the Charity, 73, Cheapside; also by Messrs. Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners-street, W., and Messrs. W. D. and H. O. Wills, Bristol.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The new expedition, under the command of Captain R. W. STEWART, R.E., has started for the Holy Land. Its object will be to accomplish the Survey of the whole country West of the Jordan; the American Society having undertaken that of the East. It will be joined by Mr. C. F. TYRWHITT DRAKE, the explorer, with Mr. PALMER, of the Desert of the Tih. The instructions of Captain Stewart include archaeological researches, examination and excavation of mounds wherever practicable; collection of names, photographs, sketches, and plans of ruins; reports on natural history, &c., &c. The Committee command the support of this expedition to all persons interested in the Holy Land. For further particulars application may be made at the Office of the Fund. The results of the work will be regularly issued in the Quarterly Statement of the Society.

W. BESANT, Secretary.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary, 9, Pall Mall East, or to the Society's Bankers, the Union Bank of London, Charing-cross Branch, and Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand.

CHLORALUM. An odourless, non-poisonous disinfectant. The saline antiseptic. Harmless as common salt.

15, Pembroke-road, Dublin.

11th September, 1871.

Sir,—I beg to state that the chloralum powder and solution have been largely employed in this city, and with the most complete success.

The bed of the River Liffey, which emitted a very offensive odour during the recent warm weather, was most satisfactorily disinfected by chloralum powder at the rate of only one pound per 25 square feet.

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- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
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| 1. Berry, Emma L. ... 921 | 2. Thomas, Catherine A. 812 |
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| 3. Hopper, Herbert E. ... 841 | 6. Latham, Ernest ... 640 |
| 4. Buckley, Emma M. ... 808 | 7. Terry, Florence E. ... 588 |
| 5. Biddle, Samuel ... 660 | 8. Mackenzie, Louise A. 528 |

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Scrutineers terminated the proceedings.

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